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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

DIVINES,
PATRIOTS,
STATESMEN,
WARRIORS,

PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS,
AND
ARTISTS,

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

A New Edition,

RE-ARRANGED, AND ENRICHED WITH SEVERAL

ADDITIONAL LIVES,

BY THE

REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Triumph, my Britain! Thou hast *those* to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe. (JOHNSON.)

—Τῆς ξυστησεται;

(Æsch. 'Επλ. επι Οηc. 431.)

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

	Born	Died	Page
XX. Sir Philip Sidney ..	(1554—1586)		1
XXI. <i>Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</i>	(1532—1588)		72
XXII. <i>Sir Francis Walsing- ham</i>	(1536—1590)		104
XXIII. <i>Sir Francis Drake</i> ..	(1545—1596)		122
XXIV. <i>Sir John Hackins</i> ..	(1520—1598)		138
XXV. <i>Edmund Spenser</i> ...	(1553—1598)		155
XXVI. <i>William Cecil, Lord Burghley</i>	(1520—1598)		177
XXVII. <i>Robert Dacreux, Earl of Essex</i> ..	(1567—1601)		215
XXVIII. <i>Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham</i> ..	(1536—1603)		247
XXIX. <i>Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset</i>	(1536—1608)		259
XXX. <i>Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury</i>	(1550—1612)		277
XXXI. <i>William Shakspeare</i> ..	(1564—1616)		296
XXXII. <i>Sir Walter Raleigh</i> ..	(1552—1618)		322

	Born	Died	Page
XXXIII. <i>William Camden</i> ..	(1551—1623)		403
XXXIV. <i>Francis Bacon, Vis-</i> <i>count St. Alban's.</i> (1561—1626)			430
XXXV. <i>George Villiers</i> I., <i>Duke of Bucking-</i> <i>ham</i>	(1592—1628)		492
XXXVI. <i>George Abbot</i>	(1562—1633)		519
XXXVII. <i>Sir Edward Coke</i> ..	(1550—1634)		543
XXXVIII. <i>Ben Jonson</i>	(1574—1637)		575

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.*

[1554—1586.]



THIS gallant gentleman, of whom it has been justly said, that 'he approached more nearly to the idea of a perfect knight than any character of any age or nation,' was born Nov. 29, 1554, at Penshurst†

* AUTHORITIES. Dr. Zouch's *Memoirs of Sir Philip Sidney*.

† From Ben Johnson's description of this place we learn that, though not embellished with works of touch or marble, with polished pillars or a roof of gold, it had better proofs of it's excellency in the fertility of it's soil, the salubrity of it's air, and it's charming scenery of wood and water ;

'Thou hast thy walks for health as well as sport,
The mount to which the Dryads do resort,
Where Pan and Bacchus their high feasts have made
Beneath the broad beech and the chesnut shade :
That taller tree, which of a nut was set
At His great birth, where all the Muses met.' (Forest, ii.)

This oak, to which Waller also alludes, as

— 'The sacred mark
Of noble Sidney's birth——'

in the county of Kent. His handsome and accomplished father, Henry, the only surviving son of Sir William Sidney (Chamberlain and Steward of the Household to Henry VIII.) was, from his infancy, the bosom-friend of Edward VI.; who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, constituted him Ambassador to France, and subsequently promoted him to several appointments near his person. A sadder portion of his destiny it was, to hold his dying prince in his arms, when he exclaimed "I am faint: Lord, have mercy on me, and receive my spirit." In the reign of Queen Mary, through his discreet and cautious conduct, he was honoured with repeated instances of royal favour; being appointed Vice-Treasurer, and General Governor of all the state-revenues in the kingdom of Ireland. As a delicate acknowledgement of her Majesty's kindness, he called his eldest son by her husband's name. But it was reserved for the more auspicious æra of Elizabeth to develop his various talents. In his several capacities of soldier, statesman, Christian, husband, father, and friend—he was, indeed, most exemplary. To Ireland, of which for eleven years he held the deputyship, inhabited as it was by men addicted to violences of every species, sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition, indefatigably laboured to conciliate the blessings of good order. With this view, beside favouring the learned, he first caused the statutes of the realm to be published; thus bringing them out of the shadow into the sunshine, whereas previously they had only

must now however, like the Marian oak (*sata ingenio; nullius autem agricolæ cultu stirps tam diuturna quàm poetæ, versu seminari potest. Cic. de Legg. I.*) live only "in description and look green in song." It was cut down in 1768.

existed in manuscript, scarcely accessible to one in a hundred of those who were subjected to their operation. The simple outline of his plan for meliorating the condition of that distracted country, in his own emphatical words, was, "Your Majesty must plant justice there." He left, in short, to provincial governors an example of moderation, wisdom, and integrity, which has never been surpassed.

Nor was the mother of Sir Philip Sidney (Mary, the eldest daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Northumberland) less illustrious, or less amiable.* Devoting herself in a great degree to the instruction of her children, she had the happiness in their proficiency to find her "exceeding great reward!" To the instances of early eminence† exhibited by Belarmin, Du Perron, Tasso, Picus Mirandula, Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius, Beza, Melanchthon, Grotius; H. Stephens, and Pascal, may be added the name of Philip Sidney; 'of whose youth (says his biographer‡) I will report no other but this, that though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man: with such a steadiness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years. His

* This was, indeed, the age of female excellence. Now flourished Lady Jane Gray,* and her sisters; the Princess Elizabeth, the disciple of Ascham; Mary, the learned Countess of Arundel; the two daughters of Sir Antony Cooke; the three sisters Ladies Ann, Margaret, and Jane Seymour; and the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More, with many others of almost equal endowments.

† For additional instances see Baillet's *Des Enfants devenus celebres, &c.*

‡ Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, (1554—1628), justly pronounced by a very respectable critic, "one of the most extraordinary men of the age."

talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind; so as even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn, above that which they had usually read or taught. Which eminence by nature and industry made his worthy father stile him in my hearing (though I unseen) "the bright ornament of his family!"

His father, as Lord President of the Marches of Wales residing at Ludlow Castle, sent his son to school at Shrewsbury; and received from him during his stay at that seminary two letters, one in Latin and the other in French, which produced the following valuable compendium of instruction in reply.*

* *Sir Henry Sidney to his son Philip Sidney, at school at Shrewsbury, in 1566, then being of the age of twelve years:*

'I have received two letters from you, one written in Latin, the other in French; which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often: for that will stand you in most stead, in that profession of life that you are born to live in. And since this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to wish you to follow, as documents to you in this your tender age.

* From this letter, of which the original was found among the MSS. at Penshurst, as well as from the parallelisms supplied in Sir Walter Raleigh's Admonitions to his son, and Sir Matthew Hale's Epistles to his children (the whole of the Second of which, 'Touching Religion,' will be given in the Extracts attached to his Life) young men may learn, that maxims of prudence were not regarded, even by these illustrious characters, as beneath the notice of first-rate genius.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

Let your first action be, the lifting up of your mind to Almighty God by hearty prayer; and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditation and thinking of him to whom you pray,* and of the matter for which you pray, and use this at an ordinary hour: whereby the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that, which you are accustomed to do in that time. Apply your study to such hours, as your discreet master doth assign you, earnestly: and the time I know he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health. And mark the sense and the matter of that you read, as well as the words. So shall you both enrich your tongue with words, and your wit

* In conformity to this excellent rule, Sir Philip to the end of his life retained the deepest tincture of genuine piety.

‘Every morning and every evening, upon your knees humbly commend yourselves to Almighty God in prayer, begging his mercy to pardon your sins, his grace to direct you, his providence to protect you; returning him humble thanks for all his dispensations toward you, yea even for his corrections and afflictions; entreating him to give you wisdom and grace to make a sober, patient, humble, profitable use of them, and in his due time to deliver you from them, concluding your prayer with the Lord’s Prayer. This will be your certain mean to bring your mind into a right frame, to procure you comfort and blessing, and to prevent thousands of inconveniences and mischiefs, to which you will otherwise be subjected.’ (*Hale.*)

‘Serve God; let him be the author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavours to him, that must either wither or prosper them: please him with prayer, lest if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labour. Like the drops of rain on the sandy ground, let my experienced advice and fatherly instructions sink deep into thy heart.’ (*Raleigh.*)

It was the Earl of Strafford’s last advice to his only son, the day before he suffered death; “Serve God diligently morning and evening, and recommend yourself unto him, and have him before your eyes in all your ways.” (*Letters*, II. 416.)

with matter; and judgement will grow, as years grow in you. Be humble and obedient to your master; for unless you frame yourself to obey others, yea, and feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you. Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men, with diversity of reverence according to the dignity of the person. There is nothing, that winneth so much with so little cost. Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher and not duller, and your body more lively and not more heavy.* Seldom drink wine; and yet sometimes do: lest, being enforced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed.† Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your joints or bones. It will increase your force, and enlarge your breath. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments. It shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome. Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do any thing, when you be most merry: but let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is oftentimes

* 'If ever you expect to have a sound body, as well as a sound mind, carefully avoid intemperance: the most temperate and sober persons are subject to sickness and diseases; but the intemperate can never be long without them.' (*Hale.*)

† 'The Rechabites were commanded by their father not to drink wine; and they obeyed it, and had a blessing for it. My command to you is not so strict. I allow you the moderate use of wine and strong drink at your meats: I only forbid you the excess, or the unnecessary use of it, and those places and companies and artifices, that are temptations to it.' (*Hale.*)

harder to be cured, than that which is given with the sword. Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk, than a beginner or procurer of speech; otherwise you shall be counted to delight to hear yourself speak.* If you hear a wise sentence, or an apt phrase, commit it to your memory, with respect to the circumstance when you shall speak it. Let never oath be heard to come out of your mouth, nor word of ribaldry; detest it in others: so shall custom make to yourself a law against it in yourself.† Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuked of light fellows for maiden-like shamefacedness, than of your sad friends for pert boldness.‡ 'Think upon

* 'He, that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a city without walls; and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue. Therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err: restrain thy choler; hearken much, and speak little: for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good and greatest evil, that is done in the world.' (*Raleigh.*)

† 'You will particularly practise that first and greatest rule for pleasing in conversation, as well as for drawing instruction and improvement from the company of one's superiors in age and knowledge; namely, to be a patient, attentive, and well-bred hearer, and to answer with modesty.'——'Pythagoras enjoined his scholars an absolute silence for a long noviciate. I am far from approving such a taciturnity: but I highly recommend the end and intent of Pythagoras' injunction; which is, to dedicate the first parts of life more to hear and learn, than to be presuming, prompt, and flippant in hazarding one's own rude notions of things.' (*Lord Chatham's 'Letters to his Nephew.'*)

‡. 'Avoid swearing in your ordinary communication, unless called to it by the magistrate; and not only the grosser oaths, but imprecations, earnest and deep protestations. As you have the commendable example of good men to justify a solemn oath before a magistrate, so you have the precept of our Saviour forbidding it otherwise.' (*Hale.*)

§ 'Be not over-earnest, loud, or insolent in talking, for it is

every word that you will speak, before you utter it; and remember how nature hath rampired up as it were the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betokening reins or bridles for the loose use of that member.* Above all things, tell no untruth, no not in trifles. The custom of it is naught: and let it not satisfy you, that for a time the hearers take it for a truth; for after, it will be known as it is, to your shame: for there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman, than to be accounted a liar.† Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied; so shall you make such an habit of well doing in you, that you shall not know how to do evil,

unseemly; and earnest and loud talking makes you overshoot and lose your business: when you should be considering and pondering your thoughts, and how to express them significantly to the purpose, you are striving to keep your tongue going, and to silence an opponent, not with reason but with noise. (*Hale.*)

* ‘You have two eyes and two ears, but one tongue: you know my meaning. The last you may imprison, as nature hath already done with a double fence, and lips; or else she may imprison you. According to our countryman Mr. Hoskyn’s advice, when he was in the Tower,

Vincula da linguæ, vel tibi vincla dabit.’

(*Howell’s Letters*, ii. 5.)

† ‘Let your speech be true, never speaking any thing for a truth, which you know or believe to be false. It is a great sin against God, that gave you a tongue to speak your mind, and not to speak a lie: it is a great offence against humanity itself; for, where there is no truth, there can be no safe society between man and man: and it is an injury to the speaker; for beside the bare disreputation it casts upon him, it doth in time bring a man to that baseness of mind, that he can scarcely tell how to tell a truth, or to avoid lying even when he hath no colour or necessity for it: and in time he comes to such a pass, that as another man cannot believe he tells a truth, so he himself

though you would. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side: and think, that only by virtuous life and good actions you may be an ornament to that illustrious family; and, otherwise, through vice and sloth you shall be counted *labes generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to man.

Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and too much I fear for you. But, if I shall find that this light meal of digestion nourish any thing the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food.

‘Your loving father, so long as you live in
the fear of God,

‘H. SIDNEY.’

From his uncle the Earl of Leicester's letter to Archbishop Parker in 1569, requesting a licence to allow young Sidney to eat flesh in Lent, it may be inferred that his health was delicate. This did not, however, prevent him from completing his education at Oxford, where he was placed in the course of that year, under the tuition of Dr. Thomas Thornton, a very learned man, characterised as ‘the common refuge for young poor scholars of great hopes and parts,’ and distinguished as the preceptor, the benefactor, and the friend of William Camden.

In the same year likewise, in order most pro-

scarcely knows when he tells a lie. And observe it, a lie ever returns with discovery and shame at the last.’ (*Hale.*)

‘Take heed also, that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is, commonly, a coward; for he dares not avow truth. He is trusted of no man; he can have no credit, neither in public nor private.’ (*Raleigh.*)

bably to unite the rival interests of two illustrious families, Leicester, with the approbation of the parents on both sides, projected his nephew's marrying Anne, the eldest daughter of Sir William Cecil: but, possibly from the tender age of the parties themselves, the arrangement was not realised. His public disputation with Mr. Carew, subsequently author of 'the Survey of Cornwall,' and his friendly and flattering attention to Camden, are recorded as highly honourable to his academical career.*

"It has been justly remarked," observes Dr. Zouch, "that the interval between the ages of sixteen and one and twenty years—a period, at which the cares of a common education cease, or are much relaxed—is that precise season of life, which requires all the attention of the most vigilant, and all the address of the wisest governors." With Mr. Sidney it did not pass away unimproved. He cultivated not one art, or one science, but the whole circle of arts and sciences; his capacious and comprehensive mind aspiring to pre-eminence in every part of knowledge attainable by men, of genius or industry. "Such, indeed," we are told by Fuller, "was his appetite for learning, that he could never be fed fast enough therewith; and so quick and strong his digestion, that he soon turned it into wholesome nourishment, and thrived healthily thereon." To him every invention was communicated, and from him received its appropriate encouragement and reward. "There was not (says Greville) a cunning painter,

* For some time he appears also to have pursued his studies at the sister-university, where he had an opportunity of consolidating with his relation Mr. Fulke Greville the friendship, which had already commenced between them at school.

a skilful engineer, or excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that did not make himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true friend without hire."

In 1572, notwithstanding the rigid circumspection, which then scarcely indulged to any except mercantile or military characters the privilege of going abroad, he obtained from his Sovereign permission to travel for two years, and was by his noble uncle strongly recommended to Mr. Walsingham, at that time the English ambassador in France. On his arrival in Paris, Charles IX. is said to have been so much struck with his ingenuous manners and conversation, that he appointed him Gentleman Ordinary of his chamber. This promotion, however, has been generally deemed less an indication of real regard, than an insidious measure to decoy* Admiral Coligni and the principal Huguenots to the capital, on the occasion of the nuptials of the King of Navarre, with a view of exterminating them at the meditated massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.†

In the general consternation occasioned by this

* The Lords Leicester and Burghley, and the sons of the Elector Palatine, it has been asserted upon good authority, were comprehended in the invitations; that Protestantism might be extirpated by a kind of Caligula blow, as far as possible, throughout Europe. That these two noblemen were great promoters of the Reformation in England, may be deduced from Archbishop Parker's Bible of 1568, in which their portraits are given with that of Queen Elizabeth.

† That this bloody transaction, in which ten thousand victims were slaughtered without distinction of age, sex, or condition, should have received the applauses of Muretus (the pupil of Julius Cæsar Scaliger) and Strada, and have been

overwhelming perfidy, Mr. Sidney, with several of his countrymen, took refuge in the house of the English ambassador: and after the storm had subsided, though strongly urged by Leicester to return home, proceeded onward on his travels: passing through Lorrain by Strasburg and Heidelberg to Frankfort, where he lodged in the house of the celebrated printer Andrew Wechel.* Here he commenced his acquaintance with one of the most illustrious children and champions of literature, Hubert Languet, the friend of Melanchthon, of Gustavus King of Sweden, of Augustus Elector of Saxony, and of William Prince of Orange; and distinguished almost equally for his erudition and his memory, his temperance and his sagacity, his suavity of manners and the extraordinary modesty of his demeanor. From him Sidney acquired his extensive knowledge of the customs and usages of nations, their interests, their governments, and their laws: nor could any thing be more honourable to a youth of nineteen, than his

commemorated by Pontifical medals and indulgences, is truly disgraceful to the individuals who bestowed them. "In England," on the contrary, says the French ambassador, relating his first audience at Woodstock after the receipt of the news, "a gloomy sorrow sat on every face. Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the royal apartments. The ladies and courtiers were ranged on each side, all clad in deep mourning; and as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a civil look, or made the least return to my salutes."

* It was usual for scholars to lodge with eminent printers. R. Stephens had frequently in his house ten learned foreigners, whose occasional employment it was, to correct his impressions. Languet, who had saved Wechel his host in the Parisian massacre, was himself, when at Antwerp, the guest of Christopher Plantinus.

selection of such a guide.* When they separated, he continued to receive, through the medium of his letters, the most useful and endearing instructions.†

During his stay at Vienna, he learned horsemanship, the use of arms, and all the manly and martial exercises suitable to his youth and birth. At Venice, that seat of voluptuous dissipation, to which he proceeded in 1574, instead of joining in the revelries of the profligate and the unlettered, he associated himself with the most respectable and the most learned of his contemporaries.‡ In the June of the same year he left Venice for Padua, where with his accustomed diligence he applied himself to geometry and astronomy: and if he failed to attain their loftiest summit, it could only be owing to the affectionate suggestions of his correspondent Languet, who in reference to his naturally delicate state of health cautioned him ‘not to resemble the traveller, that during a long journey attends to himself and not to his horse.’ At Padua, likewise, he became

* In the third book of his *Arcadia*, he has gratefully acknowledged his obligations to

‘Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew
For clerkly rede, and hating what is naught,
For faithful heart, clean hands, and mouth as true.’

See the Extracts.

† These letters, written with great elegance and purity of language, were republished in 1776 by Lord Hailes.

‡ Lord Clarendon has somewhere remarked, that ‘in the whole course of his life he never knew one man, of what condition soever, arrive to any degree of reputation in the world, who made choice of or delighted in the company or conversation of those, who in their qualities were inferior, or in their parts not much superior to himself.’

known to Tasso; and received from Scipio Gentilis, who had translated into Latin verse several cantos of the '*Gierusalemme Liberata*' (then circulated in manuscript), the flattering compliment of a dedication.

On his return to Venice, in February 1575, his free and undisguised intercourse with Catholic scholars led his English connexions to apprehend, that his faith might be in danger. But for this suspicion there was no substantial ground. Languet, indeed, beside his perpetual disquisitions on the superiority of the Protestant creed, had sufficient influence to prevent him from visiting Rome; though, in a later period of his life (it appears) Sidney regretted, ~~that~~ he had acquiesced in his friend's admonitions. By the same watchful guardian likewise he was cautioned, during his residence at Genoa, against the arts of the Genoese.

He was, now, wholly devoted to study. In obedience to his father's admonition, 'ever to be virtuously employed,' and with the view of forming a good Latin stile, he requested the directions of Languet, who recommended to him, as well for their manner as their matter, a diligent perusal of Cicero's Epistles;* and farther procured for him also, upon his earnest request, and at an exorbitant price.

* Of these he advised him (on a plan, sanctioned by the concurrence of Ascham in his '*Schoolmaster*') to translate one occasionally into another language, and after some interval to re-translate it into Latin: but at the same time he warned him against the superstitious affectation of exploding every phrase not authorised by Cicero; a folly first ridiculed by Erasmus, who in consequence incurred the bitterest reproaches from J. C. Scaliger in his '*Ciceronianus*.'

(as at that time extremely scarce) the works of Plutarch, from which he derived a vast fund of political, moral, and historical knowledge.* It is impossible, indeed, to over-rate the advantages, which he must have derived from the sleepless affection of this master-mind. ‘To cultivate piety, to keep his faith inviolate, to utter the undisguised sentiments of his heart, to protect good men against unjust violence, and to prefer the safety of his country to life itself’—such were the counsels of his tutelary genius.†

Mr. Sidney now, laying aside his project of visiting Constantinople, again traversed Germany by nearly his former track, and reached his native country in May 1575. Upon his return, he became the delight of the English court, to which (says Fuller) “he was so essential, that it seemed maimed without his company, being a complete master of matter and language.” The queen treated him with peculiar kindness, calling him ‘her Philip.’ in opposition to her sister’s Philip of Spain.

The year following he was sent ambassador to the court of Vienna, to condole with the Emperor Rodolph on the death of his father Maximi-

* The specific edition was more particularly endeared to him, as having been printed, in 1572, by his friend H. Stephens.

† At Heidelberg he had, likewise, cultivated the friendship of Zacharias Ursinus, whose frugal application of time was testified by the inscription placed over the door of his library :

*Amice, quisquis hinc venis,
Aut agito paucis, aut abi.*

•
Whatever errand upon,
Be brief, or be gone.

F. W.

lian II.* Elizabeth, it has been remarked, in her choice of representative envoys, had regard not only to the abilities, but also to the person and the accomplishments of the individuals selected. A farther and more important object of his mission was, the uniting of all the Protestant states against the assaults meditated upon them by Rome and Spain: and in this he succeeded.

He was directed, at the same time, to visit the court of John Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, with a view of claiming the repayment of various sums advanced by his royal mistress toward the expense of carrying on a war with France. In the management of this affair, he conducted himself with so much discretion, that Lord Burghley himself, though not generally friendly to the connexions of the Earl of Leicester, pronounced upon his industry and judgement the most flattering eulogy.†

It ought not to be omitted, that Sidney possessed likewise the cordial regard of William Prince of Orange, the father of his country, who usually called him 'his master,' and emphatically described him as 'one of the wisest and greatest councillors of state at that day in Europe.' A more singular tribute to his high worth was paid by Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles V., and Viceroy of Philip II. in the Netherlands; who, though at first from his national pride and his inve-

* Of his reception at the Imperial court we have his own official account, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then Secretary of State.

† Among the presents, which he received while abroad, are particularly mentioned a gold chain given to him by Rodolph; and another with a jewel bestowed by the Princess of Orange.

terate hatred of heresy he looked down on the opinions of the youthful ambassador with contempt, was speedily won by his elegance and his attainments, and honoured him with the highest applause.

In 1576, his sister Mary, "the subject of all verse," through the generosity of her uncle Leicester, who removed the obstacles arising from her father's comparative poverty, became Countess of Pembroke.

The year following, he had the happiness—can man have a greater? of vindicating his father, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, from the misrepresentations of his enemies* with such success, that he was firmly re-instated in his Sovereign's favour. Upon that occasion, he had nearly involved himself in a dispute with the Earl of Ormond, a relation of the Queen; refusing to reply, when that nobleman spoke to him, "and being in dead silence on purpose:" but his adversary generously declared, "he would accept no quarrel from a gentleman that was bound by nature to defend his father's cause, and who was otherwise furnished with so many virtues as he knew Mr. Philip to be." Sidney was, at this time, the Queen's cupbearer.

In 1578, when the Count Palatine visited England,

* Though Sir Henry was of a gentle nature and of high public spirit, he knew that firmness, and occasionally severity, was necessary to rule a fierce and uncivilised people, who were far from being totally subdued. His strictness in levying the assessment imposed upon the Irish rendered him extremely unpopular, and was the occasion of his being recalled from his government. He has modestly displayed his own character, with greater advantage than any other hand could have drawn it, in his Letters, published with the correspondence of his illustrious family. "A more exalted character indeed, as Dr. Zouch correctly observes, can scarcely be found in the volume of history."

Elizabeth reported to him the abilities of Sidney in such terms, that Casimir invited him to join his army in the ensuing campaign: and it was only in dutiful compliance with the request of his father,* who represented his own precarious and exposed situation, that he was diverted from accepting it. In the same year, Henry Stephens printed the works of Plato in three volumes folio, of which he sent one copy to Queen Elizabeth (to whom the first volume was inscribed) and another 'to his dear friend Mr. Philip Sidney.'

About this time, as we may infer from the letters of Languet, he appears to have expressed his disrelish of a courtier's life. 'To spend his days in retirement with a few select friends,' he had pronounced, even while abroad, the highest object of his ambition. His friend combated these notions, by expatiating on the duties which he owed to himself, his family, and his country. And a topic now demanded the exercise of his talents, which regarded the essential interests of that country, its liberty and its religion. With the hope of annexing the crown of England to that of France, the Machiavelian Katharine of Medicis had in 1572 proposed to Elizabeth a matrimonial union with Henry Duke of Anjou, her favourite son. Upon the rejection of this.

* Well might that happy father, writing to his second son, Mr. Robert Sidney, say: "Follow the example of your most loving brother, who in loving you is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, exercises, studies, and actions: he is a rare ornament of his age; the very formular, that all well-disposed young gentlemen of our court do form also their manners and life by. In truth, I speak it without flattery of him or myself, he hath the most virtues that ever I found in any man."

project, and the elevation of the French prince to the throne of Poland, her youngest son Francis Duke of Alençon (now become Duke of Anjou) was substituted in a similar overture: and though in 1575 her Majesty, in her speech to parliament, had intimated her resolution not to forsake ‘her poor and single state to match with the greatest monarch;’ four years afterward, she seemed to be less averse from “the double knot.” Sidney, therefore, with patriotic ardor addressed to her a letter on the occasion,* from which it appears that she had frequently conversed with him upon the subject; and to it’s earnest and argumentative cogency perhaps it was principally owing, that she ultimately declined the connexion.

In 1580, occurred the celebrated altercation be-

* Of this letter written (as Hume affirms) with unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning, a copy is inserted in the ‘*Scrinia Ceciliana*,’ or Supplement of the *Cabala*, p. 201, and in the ‘*Sidney Papers*,’ I. 287. It contains, observes Strype, many brief, but bright sentences; showing the mature judgement of the writer, his wisdom in counsel, his skill in politics, his acquaintance with the Roman history, his knowledge of foreign states and kingdoms and observations thence, his apprehension of the great danger from Papists, his concern for the Protestant interest abroad (of which she was the only protectress, as well as of the religion at home), the little or no advantage she was like to receive from France, her personal danger in case of a conclusion of this marriage with Monsieur, and how dear she was to her own people. (*Annals of the Reformation*, II. 567.) For publishing a tract, however, on the same subject, Stubbs the writer and Page the printer lost their right hands! Astrology, in courteous deference to Elizabeth’s presumed inclinations, portended every thing propitious to the projected union: but by the Cambridge students, Buchanan, &c. it was characterised in terms of the severest reprobation.

tween him and the Earl of Oxford. This haughty nobleman, who had been previously distinguished by his feats of chivalry, entering a tennis-court where Sidney was playing, ordered him to depart 'with so overmastering a manner of pride, as a generous heart could not brook it;' and, on his refusal, had recourse to illiberal appellations. These, Sidney retorted, were falsely applied. Oxford sent him a challenge. The lords of the council ineffectually offered their mediation: for Sidney had resolved to make no submission. Upon this, the Queen herself thought it necessary to interpose; and reminding the high-souled commoner of the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen, added that 'princes were under the necessity of supporting the dignities which they had conferred, and that if the gentry contemned the nobility, the peasantry would speedily learn to insult both.' To which, with due reverence, Sidney replied; 'that place was never intended for privilege to wrong, witness herself, who (how sovereign soever she were by throne, birth, education, and nature) yet was she content to cast her own affections into the same mould her subjects did, and govern all her rights by the laws.' He besought her Majesty at the same time to consider, that 'although the Earl of Oxford were a great lord by birth, alliance, and grace, yet he was no lord over him; and, therefore, the difference of degrees between freemen could not challenge any other homage than precedence.' These sentiments, uttered with energy and respect, gave no offence to his Sovereign.*

* Prince Casimir and Languet deeply interested themselves in the dispute. The former even offered his assistance, in any

To recover the composure of his mind, which had been somewhat ruffled by this incident, he retired to Wilton, the seat of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Pembroke; and here he planned his 'Arcadia:' but whether it's design was suggested by the 'Ethiopic History' of Heliodorus, then recently translated into English by Underdowne, or the 'Arcadia' of Sannazaro, must remain undecided. This simple and innocent story, which was originally written on loose sheets of paper, the greatest part of it in the company of his sister, and the rest upon scraps sent to her as soon as they were finished, he himself invariably considered as 'a trifle, triflingly handled:' and he is even said previously to his death to have requested, like Virgil, that his imperfect labour might be committed to the flames.* His sister, however, piously collected the scattered manuscripts, revised them with the fondest attention, and thus stamped upon them the appropriate title of 'the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.'

That this work was once held in high estimation, may be concluded from it's having gone through

way that might be deemed serviceable. Oxford, it seems, had called Sidney 'a puppy.' From his conduct upon this and some other occasions, of which Sir Fulke Greville has supplied many curious particulars, his besetting sin appears to have been rashness and impetuosity of temper. To this indeed, on the bloody day of Zutphen, when he entered the field without his cuisses (if it were not, rather, from a principle of fatalism) may be ascribed his untimely fall.

*. He had not quite completed the third book. In this renunciation of his work, if the object of his general imitation was Heliodorus, he deviated from his Grecian prototype. That ingenious prelate, when the alternative was proposed to him of burning his romance or resigning his bishopric (of Thessaly) chose the latter.

16793
 PAMPHLET
 16793

fourteen editions, and made it's appearance in the French, Dutch, and other European languages. It was read with attention by Shakspeare, and Milton, and Waller.* His endeavour, though unsuccessful, to improve the versification of his native language (which seems at that time to have been almost totally devoid of harmony) by the introduction of the Roman measures, was followed by Raleigh and others his contemporaries, and at least not disapproved by Spenser himself. And though by the late Lord Orford the whole composition has been characterised as 'tedious, lamentable, and pedantic,' it cannot be denied that it contains, amidst much tame-ness and prolixity, passages exquisitely beautiful, acute observations on life and manners, various and accurate discrimination of character, fine sentiments and animated descriptions, sage lessons of morality, and judicious reflexions on government and policy.†

* Of this Dr. Zouch, in his accurate notes, has furnished abundant proof.

† It ought not to be omitted, that Charles I. was charged by Milton in his 'Iconoclastes' with having adapted to his own necessities a prayer, "stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen woman praying to a heathen god, and that in no serious book, but in the vain amatorique poem of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia:' a book in that kind full of mirth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named, nor to be read at any time without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction, to be a Christian prayer-book." The offence, at any rate (as Dr. Symmons, in his 'Life of Milton,' observes) was "of a very pardonable nature, and certainly undeserving of the harsh treatment which it experienced from his adversary." That it was surreptitiously inserted in the Icon Basiliké, as illiberally affirmed by some of the royalists, at the instance of Milton and Bradshaw, in order

In a letter, written about this time to his brother Robert, upon his travels, he assures him with fraternal cordiality of his readiness to supply him with money; exhorts him to exercise his greatest expense, when he is in Italy, upon worthy men, not upon his domestic establishment; to look to his diet, to hold up his heart in courage and virtue, and to cultivate the friendship of Mr. (afterward Sir Henry) Savile, and Mr. Alexander Nevyle, two young persons of high birth and great expectancies: and after advising him to treasure up in a common-place book whatever is worthy of his notice in the course of his reading, "be it witty words of which Tacitus is full, sentences of which Livy, or similitudes whereof Plutarch," he proceeds; "My dear brother, take delight in the mathematical. Mr. Savile is excellent in them.—Arithmetic and geometry I would wish you well seen in, so as both in matter of number, and measure, you might have a feeling and active judgement. He concludes with recommending him "to keep and increase his music," and to "let no day pass without an hour or two in playing at weapons. The rest," he adds, "study and confer diligently, and so shall you come home to my comfort and credit." * •

to bring discredit upon that publication—the biographers both of Milton and Sidney, with reference as well to the pettiness of the object contemplated, as to the integrity of the characters supposed to be concerned, indignantly disbelieve. "This calumny however (says the former) was revved by the infamous Lauder, admitted by Lauder's friend and co-adjutor Dr. Johnson, and only faintly and timidly denied by the last compiler of Milton's Life, Mr. Todd." (*Life of Milton*, Ed. 2d. pp. 329, 330.)

* These exhortations were not ineffectual. Mr. Robert

In 1579, Don Antonio, one of the seven pretenders to the throne of Portugal, which had become vacant by the demise of Henry V., invited Mr. Sidney to his assistance; adding, "Though many more should join me, if I did not see you in the company, I should say, 'My numbers are not complete.'" But the Queen discountenancing his claims, the application was unsuccessful: and the kingdom in dispute fell a prize to Philip II. of Spain, remaining in subjection to that power till 1640, when John Duke of Braganza was elected King by the Portuguese.

At this time, he represented his native county in parliament. In 1581, he was one of the four* who, upon the arrival of the Duke of Anjou in England with a renewed proffer of his hand, challenged all comers at the tourney held at Westminster. In the

Sidney engaged the affection and attention of Languet, was placed by him at Strasburg under able preceptors in the house of Sturmius, the Cicero of Germany and the friend of Ascham; and, after displaying much talent and prudence in different negotiations, was, for his gallant behaviour at Zutphen, knighted by the Earl of Leicester in 1586. On the accession of James I. he was created Baron Sidney of Penshurst, two years afterward Viscount L'Isle, and in 1618 Earl of Leicester. Of his truly paternal care of his children Ben Jonson says, in his 'Forest,'

"They are and have been taught religion: there
Their gentler spirits have suck'd innocence.
Each morn and even they are taught to pray
With the whole household; and may every day
Read, in their virtuous parents' noble parts,
The mysteries of manners, arms, and arts."

* His brethren in arms were, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Windsor, and Mr. Fulke Greville. The Queen's suspicious and unpardonable fluctuation, which alarmed her ministry and finally of her lover, is well detailed by Dr. Zouch.

February following he with Lords Leicester, Hunsdon, Howard, and others of the nobility, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. by the Queen's command, attended the rejected Prince to Antwerp ("she loth to let him go, and he as loth to depart") where he assumed the sovereignty over the States, amidst the acclamations of his new subjects.

In the same year, likewise, died Languet, who having accompanied Prince Casimir on his visit to England, principally in order to gratify himself with a sight of that plant which he had so carefully nurtured, asserted in one of his letters to the Elector of Saxony, in terms confirmed by all subsequent experience, that "the English were by far the happiest nation in Christendom." *

* *Doluerunt*, says M. Du Plessis de Mornay (in the address prefixed to his Latin version of his Treatise on the 'Truth of the Christian Religion') *tanti viri obitum, qui noverant, omnes. Ego, quem unicè venerabar, parentis loco unicè deflevi.*—*Nôsse debent omnes, qui omnium utilitati, si quis unquam, consuluit; delectant præsertim posterì, quorum nemo studiosior vixit. Dicam quod sentio; et verò quod res est. Certavit in hoc viro cum pietate doctrina, cum conscientia scientia, cum naturâ ars, cum disciplina rerum usus. Nemini mundus melius cognitus. Ex mundi perlustratione unum didicerat mundi contemptum. Nemini etiam mores hominum magis pervii: in tam multiplici interim cognitione, tantam morum simplicitatem nemo non mirabatur. Ne pluribus—is fuit Languetus, quales plerique videri volunt: is vixit, quales optimi mori cupiunt; et porro vitam optimè actam mors optima, mors placidissima, mors in Christo beatissima et beatissimæ vitæ proxima, laude et gloria coronavit.* His death was bewailed by Erasmus, Buchanan, Melancthon, Thuanus, Ger. Vossius, and Joach. Camerarius, the most distinguished ornaments of the sixteenth century. To him (in common with Beza, Du Plessis, and Hottoman) has been ascribed the celebrated anti-monarchical work '*Bruti (Stephani Junii) Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*'

About this time appeared his ingenious Tractate, entitled ‘The Defence of Poesy’;* evincing at once the erudition, the judgement, and the taste of it’s author, in language the most unaffected and abounding with the happiest classical allusions. His

nos, &c. When it was objected to him that, without assigning any of his leisure to mere amusement, he turned from the public business of his office to the pursuits of learning, he used to reply with Cicero, *Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, Judices, ut ab nullius unquam me tempore aut commodum aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocârit, aut denique somnus retardârit? Quare quis tandem ne reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis; quantum alii tribunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ—tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumptero.* The commendations, which such a man bestowed upon Sidney’s Letters, affirming that ‘the longest always pleased him the most,’ may well be opposed to the adverse criticism of Lord Orford, who appears not even to have known the existence of the ‘Defence of Poesy’! (*Epist. LXI.*)

* See the Specimens subjoined to the Life. To this production allusion is made in the subjoined lines from the Cambridge Luctus upon the death of it’s author:

*Te Musa excoluit, finxit tibi pectora Virtus,
O decus, ô patriæ stella (Philippe) tuæ.
Quid Musis poteras, docuit DEFENSIO MUSÆ,
ARCADIÆ docuit fabrica texta novæ.*

Thec, Sidney, England’s grace and guiding star,
Each Muse, each Virtue made her constant care.
Thy Muse’s power let her DEFENCE express,
And now ARCADIA in it’s storied dress. F. W.

At this period was dedicated to him an English version of a Treatise ‘*De Re Militari*,’ the work of the Spaniard Luis Gutierrez de la Vega, by Nicholas Litchfield.

precise statement of the laws of the drama, his just commendations of the transcendent worth of the Psalms, his panegyric upon lyric poetry and our bards of "the old time," and his successful repulse of the Puritans, those avowed enemies of all literature, who pronounced poets 'the caterpillars of the commonwealth,' deserve especial attention. For this labour, indeed, he was admirably qualified by his accurate perusal of the best Latin and Italian commentators on Aristotle's Poetic.

In 1582, upon the appointment of his uncle the Earl of Warwick to the Mastership of the Ordnance, with that nobleman's concurrence and (as he himself states, in his letter) "her Majesty yielding gracious hearing," he solicited the interest of Lord Burghley to be associated with him in that office. But the application proved fruitless.

A second treaty of wedlock between Sidney and Penelope, the daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, which had been for some years negotiated, failing of success,* in 1583 he married Frances, the only surviving child of Sir Francis Walsingham, a young lady of great worth and beauty, to whom Jonson soon afterward addressed the following lines :

•
TO MRS. PHILIP SIDNEY.

' I must believe some miracles still be,
When Sidney's name I hear, or face I see :
For Cupid, who at first took vain delight
In mere out-forms, until he lost his sight,

* This lady married Robert Lord Rich, subsequently (in 1618) created Earl of Warwick ; a man said to have been extremely rough in his manners and conversation. Languet had often, it appears, pressed his friend to enter into the married state.

Hath changed his soul and made his object you;
 Where finding so much beauty met with virtue,
 He hath not only gain'd himself his eyes,
 But in your love made all his servants wise.'

In the January of the same year, he received from her Majesty the honour of knighthood; an honour which, like all others, "she bestowed with frugality and choice." He was nominated, likewise, to carry Elizabeth's condolences to the French court on the death of the Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III.; but it does not appear, that this delegation was carried into effect.

In 1584, Dr. David Powel, in a manly, sensible, and pious strain of dedication, inscribed to him his 'History of Wales.'

At this juncture several plots against the Queen's person, both at home and abroad, having given her great and just alarm, an association was instituted under the Earl of Leicester, by which men of all degrees and conditions bound themselves under the most solemn obligations to prosecute, even to death, whoever should attempt any thing against their Sovereign. These efforts having exposed that prominent nobleman to many severe aspersions, particularly in a malignant and scurrilous work generally entitled 'Leicester's Commonwealth,'* Sir Philip

* Of this work, which taxed Leicester with ambition, arrogance, and treachery in their most criminal degree, the reputed author was the rough and turbulent Robert Parsons, a jesuit: but he is said to have disowned it, though some critics have pronounced the composition worthy of a Tacitus. It was first published abroad in 1584, under the title of 'A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer;' and, from the colour of it's leaves, it was occasionally denominated, "Father

took up his pen to vindicate his uncle's reputation. In this, however, he did not fully succeed; having confined his defence chiefly to an assertion of the high descent of the Dudleys, and to the detection of various inconsistencies in the hostile pamphlet; and, in the course of it, having degraded himself by an unworthy asperity of speech.

He now, disappointed probably in his views of domestic promotion, or looking forward (as some have, perhaps partially, suggested) to no less than the conquest of America, formed with Sir Fulke Greville a project of accompanying Sir Francis Drake, who had already traversed the globe, and filled (as it was supposed) both his royal mistress' coffers and his own by his fortunate piracies,* upon

Parsons' Green Coat." In the year following it was translated into French, and entitled, '*La Vie abominable, Ruses, Trahisons, Meurtres, Impostures, &c.*' The answer to this libel, having remained in MS. above a hundred and fifty years (for it first appeared in the 'Sidney Papers,' edited in 1746) was probably regarded as an incomplete apology for the character so fiercely assailed in it. It contains a passage however, which demands to be extracted, as proving how much his own character had been influenced by the high spirit of ancestry, ascribed by Sir Fulke Greville to his mother: "I am a Dudley in blood, the Duke's daughter's son—my chiefest honour is, to be a Dudley." From her, likewise, he inherited much of that tender melancholy, which induced Languet to advise him to 'take care of his health.'

* Even Languet himself, and this renders Sidney's plan the more extraordinary, regarded Drake as no better than a pirate; and cautioned his friend against the *cursu sacra fames*, the principal motive upon these occasions. This second voyage proved less productive. After nearly a twelvemonth's absence, and a loss of seven hundred and fifty men, the illustrious buccaneer brought back 60,000*l.*, of which two-thirds being due to the

his second expedition: not however with so much secrecy, but that it reached the ear of the Queen, who issued her peremptory orders to restrain him from his purpose.

In 1585, the elective throne of Poland was vacated by the death of Stephen Bathori, one of its best and wisest possessors. Upon this occasion, Sidney was named as one of the competitors. What an approach must that character have made to excellence, which could thus create a party among distant foreigners, uninfluenced by corruption, to offer a crown to an English knight! But his Sovereign, as Naunton informs us, "refused to further his advancement, not only out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times;"* or perhaps, as Fuller remarks, he himself declined the dignity, preferring rather to be a subject to Queen Elizabeth, than a prince beyond the seas. 1679.3

From two letters† sent to him, in 1583 and 1585, by Mornai du Plessis, through special envoys, upon the subject of the dangers and interests of the French Huguenots (assailed as they were by the

adventurers who fitted out the ships, the remainder allowed only to the surviving sailors about six-pence halfpenny each man: "so cheaply," observes one of Drake's biographers, "is life sometimes hazarded!"

* "She committed Sir Matthew Arundel, of Wardour Castle in the West, for accepting from the German Cæsar the dignity of a Count, and denied Sir Philip Sidney the crown of Poland." (Osborne's *Misc. Works*.) "I will not allow," she used to say, "that my sheep shall be marked with a stranger's mark, nor that they follow the whistle of a foreign shepherd." (*Wicquefort*.)

† These letters are preserved in the '*Mémoires de Messieurs Philippes de Mornai*.'

Guisé faction, at the head of the Holy League) it may be inferred how highly foreigners estimated his influence at the English court. The Queen not only expended considerable sums in levying a German force, which Condé and Casimir conducted into France, but also extended her protection of the Reformed Religion to the Netherlands, which had implored her succours against the bloody Duke of Alva. She declined, indeed, their proffered sovereignty; but she promised to send a considerable body of troops to their relief, for the support of which she received several towns as pledges. Of one of those cautionary fortresses, Flushing (from it's situation at the mouth of the Scheldt, deemed one of the most important) Sidney was appointed Governor; and soon afterward, upon the arrival of the Earl of Leicester in the United Provinces as General of the English auxiliaries, with an army of five thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, he joined him as his General of the Horse.* In this

* One consequence of this foreign expedition, justly deplored by Camden, was "that the English, which of all the northern nations had been least drinkers and most commended for their sobriety, learned by these Netherland wars to drown themselves with immoderate drinking, and by drinking to others' healths to impair their own." Their previous temperance must in some measure have been the result of principle, if it be true (as Voltaire asserts) "*que les nations septentrionales semblent aimer les liqueurs fortes, et les vins, d'autant plus que la nature les leur a refusés.*" (Hist. de Charles XII.) In a commercial view, however—if, indeed, commerce may be named in comparison with morality—great advantages accrued to the nation from the influx of exiles, whom popish persecution drove from their industrious homes. With the fugitives of Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, and more especially Antwerp, the decayed streets of

capacity, however; he soon found it to be his duty to remonstrate with his uncle upon his ill usage of the soldiery in various particulars. Neither was the Queen herself, it appears, better satisfied with the behaviour of one, whom (as she boasted) 'she had raised out of the dust,' and whom she subsequently suspected of aspiring to the perpetual dictatorship of the provinces in question.

In July 1586, in concert with his young friend the Stadtholder Maurice, Sir Philip, after a pious address to his soldiers, and an injunction of the ancient system of silence during their march, took Axell (a town in Flanders) by a night-scalade, without the loss of a single man; and liberally rewarded his brave followers. "every one of them according to his merit, out of his own private fortune." A thaw, however, frustrated his attempt upon Steenburg; and Graveling was snatched from his grasp by treachery: La Motte, the governor of the town, having offered to surrender it into his hands, only with a view of entrapping those who should be sent to take possession of it.

In the course of this year died Sir Henry Sidney, after having presided over the principality of Wales twenty-six years: and Lady Mary survived her husband only three months. Their gallant son was not permitted long to deplore his loss. A detachment of the English army accidentally meeting a convoy be-

Canterbury, Norwich, and many other towns were peopled and made to flourish. In the following century, similar consequences ensued in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, which brought over to England many thousands of the best manufacturers of France.

longing to the enemy, an action ensued near Zutphen, of such sharpness, that it thenceforward (as we learn from Strada) became a proverb in the Belgian army. Sidney, having had one horse shot under him, instantly mounted a second; and seeing Lord Wiltoughby in imminent danger, hastened to his rescue. After this, he continued the fight with great spirit till "a musket-shot a little above his left knee so broke and rifled the bone, and so entered the thigh upward toward his body, as the bullet (which, it has been suggested, was a poisoned one) could not be found before the body was opened." In this agonised condition he returned to the camp, nearly a mile and a half distant, and was thence carried in a barge to Arnheim, a city in Guelderland. A more illustrious example of resignation, fortitude, and benevolence is not chronicled in the pages of history, than that which Sir Philip exhibited upon this occasion.

On his way from the field, languid and thirsty with loss of blood, he asked for water: but, as he was lifting the goblet to his parched lips, he observed a dying soldier, whose ghastly countenance induced him immediately to renounce the indulgence, saying, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine."* The surgeons likewise, who attended him, he admonished to "use their art with freedom, while his strength was yet entire, his body free from fear, and his mind

* Dr. Zouch in his Appendix, No. 5, for somewhat similar instances of self-denial refers the reader to 2 Sam. xxiii. 14—17, of 1 Chron. x. 16—19., to Plutarch's Life of Alexander, where that prince is on his march against Darius after their last battle (IV. 307.), and to the Ninth Book of the *Parsalia*, where the Romans, under the guidance of Cato, are traversing the sands of Lybia. He gives also a communication from Mr. Val. Green,* upon West's celebrated picture on this subject.

able to endure:" and he even composed an ode (unfortunately, not now extant) upon the nature of his wound, while he was writhing under it's effects;* and addressed a 'large epistle,' in elegant Latin, to Belearius, an eminent divine.

At first, sanguine hopes of his recovery were encouraged, the rumour of which diffused universal joy in England. But they proved, unhappily, fallacious. From his lady, who had attended him into Zealand, he received every consolation, which the most tender sympathy could bestow: but by sixteen days of acute suffering "his very shoulder-bones were worn through his skin, with constant and obedient posturing of his body to the art of the chirurgion;" and smelling (as he declared) the smell of death from incipient mortification, though yet unperceived by his attendants, the night before he died, leaning upon a pillow in his bed he addressed to Weierus, the celebrated physician of the Duke of Cleves and the pupil of Cornelius Agrippa, an anxious summons: 'Come, dear Weierus, come instantly: my life is in danger, and I long ardently for you. Dead or alive, I will not prove ungrateful. I cannot add any more; but I earnestly entreat you to make haste. Farewell.'†

He subsequently made a public confession of his faith to the clergy who surrounded his bed, and at his

* Lord Vaux, also, wrote a sonnet when dying; and Edwards, a poet in the reign of Elizabeth, composed his 'Edwards' Soul's Knell' under similar circumstances. The 'Complaint of a Sinner,' adds Dr. Zouch, "made and sung by the Earl of Essex upon his death-bed in Ireland, is printed in 'The Paradise of Dainty Devices.'"

† *Mi Weiere, veni, veni: de vitâ periclitor, & te cupio. Nec vivus, nec mortuus, ero ingratus. Plura non possum; sed obnixè te oro ut festines. Vale.*

earnest request accompanied him in a devout prayer, dictated by himself and uttered with great energy. In this he remarked, that 'his sins were best known to himself, and out of that true sense he was more properly instructed to apply to himself the eternal sacrifice of our Saviour's passion and merits.' He then conversed upon the immortality of the soul, affixed a codicil to his will (which for it's pious preamble, and the humane and beneficent minuteness of it's details, is highly honourable to his memory), called for solemn music to sooth and compose his disordered frame, and having bidden farewell to his afflicted brother in words which deserve to be engraven in letters of gold,* expired on the seventeenth of October, aged thirty-two, in the arms of his private secretary Mr. William Temple.†

Thus perished the flower of England; the ornament and the delight, successively, of the university and of

* "Love my memory: cherish my friends: their faith to me may assure you, that they are honest. But, above all, govern your will and affection by the will and word of your Creator; in me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities."

† This gentleman recorded the excellency of his patron and friend in the following compositions:

1. *Gulielmi Temple in Philippum Sydnæum Tetrastichon.*

*Si Virtus, aut ulla Charis, aut Pieris ulla
Nescia letiferæ debuit esse viæ;
Qui Charis et Virtus fueras, qui Pieris ipsa—
Quot debebantur sæcla, Philippe, tibi?*

2. *Ejusdem in eundem Epitaphium.*

*Quis jacet hic? Sidneius. Qualis? Nobilis ortu,
Ingenio Pallas, Marte Gaudivus erat.
Ut cecidit? Cecidit Geldris congressus in arvis,
Hostia dum forti dissipat arma manu.
Nunquid morte pius? Tot s pietate reluxit:
Sic illi fixus pectore Christus erat.*

the court; and seen with equal admiration in a field of battle and a tournament, in public as an envoy, and in private as a friend. His talents were alike adapted to prose and to verse, to original composition and to translation. Considered with respect to his poetry, however, he was certainly (as Mr. Ellis observes) too much infected with that fondness for conceit and antithesis, which the example of the Italian writers had rendered fashionable: but this fault in him was evidently the effect of imitation, not of character; and is often compensated by real wit, and

3. *Navis, quâ honoratissimi Sidneii corpus Flushingâ Londinum advehebatur, de suo atro apparatu et nobilitate vecturæ; Auctore Gulielmo Temple.*

*Cur atra sim quæris. Sidneii ad sidera rapti
En veho per tumidas nobile corpus aquas.
Parcite jam fluctus, adversi parcite venti:
Nobilius corpus num tulit ulla ratis?*

1. Had Virtue, Grace, or Muse alone
Claim for long years on earth to shine;
Sidney—Grace, Virtue, Muse, in one—
What centuries of life werè thine!

F. W.

2. Who sleeps beneath? Sidney. His worth declare:
High-born, in wit Minerva, Mars in war.
How fell he? On the Gueldrian fields he fell,
Sent with brave arm Spain's bigot-hosts to quell.
Pious through life, in pious hope he died,
His firm trust fix'd upon the Crucified.

F. W.

3. Ask you my hue's sad cause? To me 'tis given
To bear the corse of Sidney, now in heaven.
Spare me, ye waves! Spare adverse breezes, spare!
Did ever bark a nobler burthen bear?

F. W.

A more minute detail of the circumstances of his death by Mr. Giffard, a minister whom he sent for, 'eight days after he was stricken,' is printed by Dr. Zouch, pp. 266—277, from a MS. preserved in the British Museum.

elegance, and facility. His amatory powers are not whining lamentations about the perfections and cruelty of an ideal paragon, but lively, dramatic, and descriptive of real passion.*

Leicester, though it was cruelly insinuated by some of his enemies, that he had purposely neglected sending reinforcements to his nephew, was deeply afflicted by the event; and declared that ‘next her Majesty Sidney was his greatest comfort of all the world, and if he could have bought his life with all he had to his shirt, he would have given it.’ A general mourning among the higher ranks, the first instance (it is believed) of a national change of apparel for a private person, announced the sympathy of his countrymen. Even the hard heart of Philip of Spain in a softened hour confessed, that ‘England had lost in an instant what she might not produce in an age;’ and his secretary ‘lamented to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in these cloudy times, and bewailed poor widow England, that having been so many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him:’ while the states of Holland earnestly petitioned to bury his body at the public expense, engaging to erect for him as fair a monument as any prince had in Christendom. But this request Elizabeth rejected, having determined to celebrate his ob-

* With respect to Lord Orford, who says ‘Sidney wrote with the *sang-froid* and prolixity of Mademoiselle Scudery,’ an able critic justly represents singularity of opinion, vivacity of ridicule, and polished epigrams in prose, as the means by which that nobleman sought distinction. But he had something in his disposition more predominant than his wit: a cold unfeeling disposition, which condemned literary men at the moment that his heart secretly panted to share their fame; while his peculiar habits of society deadened every impression of grandeur in the human character.

sequies at her own cost in the most magnificent manner.

On the fifth of November, his remains were landed at Tower-Hill, London, and conveyed to the Minorities in Aldgate, where they lay in state; and, on the sixteenth of February following, they were interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. To a pillar in the choir was appended a tablet, with the subjoined inscription:

“ England, Netherland, the heavens, and the arts,
The soldiers, and the world, have made six parts
Of the noble Sidney: for none will suppose,
That a small heap of stones can Sidney enclose.
His body hath England, for she it bred;
Netherlands his blood, in her defence shed;
The heavens have his soul, the arts his fame;
All soldiers the grief, the world his good name.” *

Never, says Dr. Zouch, was the Italian adage more strongly verified:

Chi semina virtu fama raccoglie.

The venerable Camden has happily portrayed the pre-eminence of his character. “ Philip Sidney, not to be omitted here without an unpardonable crime, the great glory of his family, the great hopes of mankind, the most lively patron of virtue, and the darling of the world, nobly engaging the enemy at Zutphen in Guelderland, lost his life bravely and valiantly. This is that Sidney, whom as Providence seems to have sent into the world to give the present age a specimen of the ancients, so did it on a sudden recall him and snatch him from us, as more worthy of heaven than of earth. Thus when virtue is come to perfection it presently leaves us, and the best things are seldom lasting. Rest then in peace, O Sidney, if I may be allowed this address. We will

* From a French epigram on Bonnivet by Isaac du Bellay.

not celebrate thy memory with tears, but with admiration. ‘Whatever we loved in thee (as the best author speaks of the best governor of Britain) whatever we admired in thee, continues and will continue in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages, and the annals of time. Many, as inglorious and ignoble, are buried in oblivion; but Sidney shall live to all posterity.’* For, as the Greek poet has it, ‘Virtue’s beyond the reach of Fate.’”

Neither has this ‘English Petrarch,’ as Raleigh termed him, this ‘warbler of poetic prose,’ as he is stiled by Cowper, lacked abundance of later panegyrists. Ben Jonson observes, “Sir Philip Sidney and Mr. Hooker, in different matters, grew masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigour of invention and strength of judgement met.” Sir Henry Wotton, in his ‘Elements of Architecture,’ has defined his wit to be, “the very essence of congruity.” Oldham, in his ‘Satire dissuading from poetry,’ matches him with the Scipios and Mecænases of ancient Rome, for his patronage of poets. By Sir William Temple he is denominated, “the greatest poet and the noblest genius of any, that have left writings in our own or any modern language.” Thomson, in his ‘Summer,’ pronounces him,

‘The plume of war! with early laurels crown’d,
The lover’s myrtle, and the poet’s bay.”

And the noble historian of Henry II. has placed in parallel with him Bayard, the chevalier ‘without fear and without reproach’ (decidedly however his inferior in statesmanship, elegance, and literature), as jointly con-

* Tacit. *Jul. Agric. Vit. ad fin.* The Greek allusion is to an Epigram by Julianus Ægyptius.

tending for the prize of fame in the school of chivalry.* By the rival pens of Mason and Warton, in their antagonist poems ‘Isis’ and the ‘Triumphs of Isis,’ he is equally classed among the “leaders of the patriot line :” and of learned foreigners, Lambertus Danæus, Scipio Gentilis, Justus Lipsius, Theophilus Banosius, and the celebrated Giordano Bruno did themselves the honour to dedicate to him portions of their works ; while Hakluyt inscribed with the same protecting name his first collection of Voyages and Discoveries, printed in 1582.

With a view to procure for him the scarcest and choicest volumes upon all subjects, his agents attended the annual fairs held at Leipsic, Frankfort, and other places on the continent. This collection, by his will, he divided between his two ‘worthy friends and fellow-poets,’ Sir Fulke Greville and Mr. Edward Dyer.

His occasional motto, ‘*Vix ea nostra voco*,’† drew the following lines from Simon Huseus, preserved in the Oxford ‘*Peplus*’ dedicated to his memory :

“*Cùm stirpem referas illustrem, dic Philippe,
Et magnos atavos conspicuamque domum ;
Cùm sint nobilium tibi clara insignia avorum
Antiquumque genus, ‘vix ea nostra vocas?’
Insignis quibus ergò studes insignibus esse?
Unde tuos titulos, stemmataque unde trahis?
An studium, mores, pietatem, fortia facta,
Virtutem et mentis munera, ‘nostra’ vocas?*”

* With these a third has occasionally been combined, Edward the Black Prince. Lyvielton has suggested a second parallel for Sidney in Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

† Another, alluded to the device of the unebbing Caspian, by which he expressed a mind free from the turbulence of passion and a steady perseverance in duty, was *Sine refluxu* ; a third, *Aut viam inveniam, aut faciam* ; and a fourth, adopted at the journey of 1581, indicating his disavowal of all selfishness, *Sic vos non vobis*.

*Quæ tu 'nostra' vocas, ea sunt divina, Philippe;
Nec meliora illis dicere 'nostra' potes."* * *

The elegance, in short, of his manners, the versatility of his genius adapting itself to the acquisition of universal knowledge, his unbounded munificence, his amiable demeanor in domestic life, his tender sympathy with the protestant victims of Spanish tyranny, the general suavity of his disposition, an experience far above his years, his invincible patience under the acutest suffering—all these qualities will endear his name to future ages. Whatever applause is claimed for his genius and his erudition, much more is due to the unsullied purity of his manners, and the perfect innocence of his life. It was with him a favourite maxim, 'no wisdom without courage, and no courage without religion and honesty.' "His heart and his tongue went both one way, and so with every one that went with the truth, as knowing no other kindred, party, or end." While many experienced the effects of his beneficence,† it was never

* Sprung of illustrious blood—for thou can'st trace
Heroes, and princes in thy splendid race—
Say, Sidney, this bright lineage of renown,
This gallant stem, 'scarce call'st thou these thine own?'
What other signs thine eminence shall show?
Whence shall thy titles, whence thine honour flow?
Thy piety, abandonment of ease,
Genius, and worth, and valour—'thine' are these?
What 'thine' thou call'st, are properties divine:
Nor can'st thou call a nobler cluster 'thine.' F. W.

† Hence in the '*Peplus*' we read,
"*Largiri solitus tot opes, tot præmia Musis,
Debuera animæ parciore esse tuæ.*"

Lavish of wealth to chase the Muse's need,
Thou should'st have learn'd more frugally to bleed. F. W.

known that a single individual sustained the most trifling injury at his hands. With all this was joined the most endearing affability. His dignified and winning deportment filled every one, who approached him, with delight. "It likes me much better," he himself observed, "when I find virtue in a fair lodging,* than when I am bound to seek it in an ill-favoured creature, like a pearl in a dunghill." To his 'nectar-tongue' evidence is borne in the collections of verses above quoted :

*"Palladium pectus, sedes insignis honoris ;
Virtutum series, invicti robur Achillis ;
Ingenii splendor, vultus formosa vetustas,
Melleus ore sonus, divinum mentis acumen."* †

Well might it be declared, that such a constellation of virtues only rose to throw one bright flush over the world, and to set again : well might it be pronounced of him ;

*"Magna quidem pueri fuit expectatio, major
Inventus juvenis : prævertit tempora cursu.
Herba habuit florem, flos fructum ; senior ætas
Quid non vidisset, nisi fata inopina negâssent
Tam clarum numen terris, cæloque locâssent?"* ‡

His death was lamented by both the English Universities in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Italian

* *Pulchrior est pulcro veniens è corpore virtus.*

† A heart to Pallas sacred, honour's seat ;
Virtue, and vigour, as the Pthian's great ;
Genius, a tale where all these graces shine,
And hoarded accents, and a mind divine. F.W.

‡ Great was his boyhood's hope : more greatly still,
His years outstript, did youth that hope fulfil.
His blade had blossom, fruit that blossom swell'd ;
What might not his ripe reason have beheld,
Had fate relented at the general sigh,
Nor snatch'd the bright Immortal to the sky ? F.W.

strains.* For the sake of the English reader, two extracts from the Cambridge collection (as quoted by Dr. Zouch) are subjoined with translations:

*“ Interea horribili mactatum strage Philippum,
Heu iterumque iterumque, etiamque etiamque dolendum,
Æterno elogio (quod possumus, ac debemus)
Luctisonisque hymnis, suadâque ornabimus omni;
Dum Musæ calamos aut linguas Gratiæ habebunt,
Aut Virtuti aderit comes inseparabilis Hermes,
Magnanimos alto decorans heroas honore.”*

To slaughter'd Sidney eulogy we bring:
Him, as we can—for 'tis his due—we sing
With hymns of grief and many a doleful strain,
While or a Muse can mourn or Grace complain;
Or Hermes close with Virtue link'd shall go,
Braiding with wreath divine the hero's brow. F. W.

*“ Tu felix, Sidneie, tui dum regia virtus,
Dum pietas, dum verus honos, dum vita virescens
Splendorem patriæ tulerant Anglisque salutem:
At nunc ter felix! Num te felicior ullus?
Qui patriam vitâ, vitam virtute coronas,
Vulnere virtutem, decoras cum sanguine stirpem.
Immortale tenes æternæ stemma salutis.
Te princeps, procerum series dignissima flevit;
Te pietas, te prisca fides, te docta juvenus,
Te, te sacra cohors, te nos deflevimus omnes.”*

Sidney, 'twas thine by deeds of valour done,
True faith, and vigorous youth to guard the throne:
Then happy, round thy native land to throw
Honour's bright wreath! But ah! thrice happy now!
Whose life that land, that life whose virtues grace,
Whose wounds those virtues, and whose death thy race!
'Tis thine the meed of endless bliss to reap:
Thee, thee thy Queen and all her nobles weep;
Thee Piety, thee Faith as known of yore,
And learned Youth and hallow'd Age, deplore. F. W.

The respective titles of these publications were;

1. *‘Academiæ Cantabrigiæ Lacrymæ, tumulo nobilissimi*

He left a daughter, Elizabeth, born the year before his death, who married Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland. This young nobleman, from his attachment to his relation the Earl of Essex having joined him in his fatal insurrection, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner till the accession of James I. He died without issue in 1612; and was followed to the grave by his countess in about three years.

The widow of Sidney, 'destinated (according to Sir Robert Naunton) to the bed of honour,' subsequently married her royal mistress' favourite,* Essex, who offended the Queen by this measure, as concluded without her privity. He perishing on the scaffold in 1600, she took for her third husband Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanrickarde, a person equally elegant and accomplished with her two former consorts, but happily for herself far less ambitious and enterprising. In the interval between her second and her third marriage she lost her father, the support and ornament of Protestantism, and became a Papist.†

His works, beside the 'Arcadia,' first published in 1590, the 'Defence of Poesy,' 1595, and an English

Equitis D. Philippi Sidneii sacratæ per Alexandrum Nevillum, Lond. 1587.

2. '*Peplus illustrissimi Viri D. Sidnæi supremis honoribus dicatus,*' Oxon. 1587, and'

3. '*Eaequiae illustrissimi Equitis D. Philippi Sidnæi gratissimæ memoriæ ac nomini impensæ,*' Oxon. 1589.

* Voltaire with his usual inaccuracy observes, that 'of Queen Elizabeth's favourites Robert Devereux was the first, and the Earl of Essex the second!' Could he really be ignorant, that they were the same person?

† Sir Henry Wotton, in his 'Parallel of Essex and Villiers Duke of Buckingham,' observes that "they were both married

Version of the Psalms, remaining in MS., were 'Astrophel and Stella,' 1591: and 'Sonets,' several of which appeared in Constable's 'Diana,' 1594, but were subsequently with 'Astrophel and Stella' annexed to the 'Arcadia;' as likewise are, generally, the 'Remedie for Love,' and the 'Lady of May,' a Masque.

He co-operated, also, in the 'Instructions for Travellers,' 1633, with the Earl of Essex and Secretary Davison; wrote 'Valour anatomised in a Fancie,' 1581;* furnished some poetical contributions to 'England's Helicon,' and 'England's Parnassus' (both published in 1600) and Davison's 'Poems,' 1611; and translated the first part of his friend 'Philip of Mornay's'† French Treatise on the 'Treason of the Christian Religion, &c.' which, at his request, was finished by the voluminous Arthur Golding. This last work alone, the labour of his few hours of leisure during the closing years of his short life, abundantly proves, that he "delighted (as Dr. Zouch has observed) to contemplate the truths of Revelation; the existence of a Supreme Being, his creation and government of the world, the immortality of the soul,

to very virtuous ladies, sole heirs, and left issue of their sex, and both their wives were converted to contrary religions." (*Reliq. Wotton.*)

In Lyttelton's 'Dialogues of the Dead,' Lady Clanrickarde is introduced as defending her third marriage by remarking, that her two first husbands were too much engaged in the pursuit of glory to regard the duties of domestic life.

* Printed at the end of '*Cottoni Posthumæ*,' 1672.

† Of this writer "the most learned among the noble, and the most noble among the learned," the various compositions (particularly the 'Mystery of Iniquity,') have the honour of being admitted among the heretical volumes prohibited by the Roman Index.

the prospect of future blessedness, and the redemption effected by the Messiah for the whole race of mankind."

EXTRACTS

From the 'Defence of Poesy.'

—' And first, truly, to all them that professing learning inveigh against Poetry may justly be objected, That they go very near to ungratefulness; to seek to deface that, which in the noblest nations and languages that are known hath been the first light-giver to ignorance, and first nurse, whose milk by little and little enabled them to feed afterward of tougher knowledges. And will you play the hedge-hog, that being received into the den, drove out his host; or rather the vipers, that with their birth kill their parents?

' Let learned Greece, in any of her manifest sciences, be able to show me one book before Musæus, Homer, and Hesiod; all three nothing else but Poets. Nay, let any history be brought, that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill; as Orpheus, Linus, and some others are named, who having been the first of that country that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to posterity, may justly challenge to be called their 'Fathers in learning.' For not only in time they had this priority (although, in itself, antiquity be venerable) but went before them as causes to draw, with their charming sweetness, the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge: so as Amphion was

said to move stones with his poetry to build Thebes, and Orpheus to be listened to by beasts, indeed stony and beastly people. So, among the Romans, were Livius Andronicus and Ennius: so, in the Italian language, the first that made it to aspire to be a treasure-house of science were the Poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch: so, in our English, were Gower and Chaucer; after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautify our mother-tongue, as well in the same kind as other arts.

‘This did so notably show itself, that the philosophers of Greece durst not a long time appear to the world, but under the mask of Poets. So Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides sang their natural philosophy in verses; so did Pythagoras and Phocylides their moral counsels; so did Tyrtæus in war-matters, and Solon in matters of policy. Or, rather, they being Poets did exercise their delightful vein in those points of highest knowledge, which before them lay hidden to the world: for that wise Solon was directly a Poet it is manifest, having written in verse the noble fable of the Atlantic Island, which was continued by Plato. And truly even Plato, whosoever well considereth shall find, that in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were philosophy, the skin as it were and beauty depended most of Poetry. For all stands upon dialogues; wherein he feigns many honest burgesses of Athens speaking of such matters, that if they had been set on the rack, they would never have confessed them: besides, his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well-ordering of a banquet, the delicacy of a walk; and interlacing mere tales, as Gyges’ ring, and

others ; which, who knows not to be flowers of Poetry, did never walk into Apollo's garden.

‘ And even historiographers, although their lips sound of things done, and verity be written in their foreheads, have been glad to borrow both fashion, and perchance weight, of the Poets. So Herodotus intitled the books of his history by the names of the Nine Muses ; and both he, and all the rest that followed him, either stole or usurped of Poetry their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battles which no man could affirm : or, if that be denied me, long orations, put in the mouths of great kings and captains, which it is certain they never pronounced. * * * *

‘ Poesy, therefore, is an art of imitation ; for so Aristotle termeth it in the word *μιμησις*, that is to say, ‘ a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth :’ to speak metaphorically, ‘ a speaking picture ;’ with this end, to teach and delight.

‘ Of this have been three general kinds. The chief, both in antiquity and excellency, were they that did imitate the unconceivable excellences of God : such were David in his ‘ Psalms ;’ Solomon in his ‘ Song of Songs,’ in his ‘ Ecclesiastes,’ and ‘ Proverbs ;’ Moses and Deborah in their Hymns, and the writer of Job ; which, beside others, the learned Emanuel Tremellius and Fr. Junius do entitle, “ the poetical part of the scripture :” against these none will speak, that hath the Holy Ghost in due holy reverence. In this kind, though in a full wrong divinity, were Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his ‘ Hymns,’ and many others, both Greeks and Romans. And this Poesy must be used by whosoever will follow St. Paul’s counsel, in *singing psalms when they are merry ;* and I know

is used with the fruit of comfort by some, when in sorrowful pangs of their death-bringing sins they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodness.

‘ The second kind is of them, that deal with matter philosophical ; either moral, as Tyrtæus, Phocylides, Cato ; or natural, as Lucretius, Virgil’s *Georgics* ; or astronomical, as Manilius and Pontanus ; or historical, as Lucan ; which who mislike, the fault is in their judgement quite out of taste, and not in the sweet food of sweetly-uttered knowledge.

‘ But because this second sort is wrapped within the fold of the proposed subject, and takes not the free course of his own inventions ; whether they properly be Poets or no, let grammarians dispute : and go to the third, indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth. Betwixt whom and these second is such a kind of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of painters, who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them, and the more excellent ; who having no law but wit, bestow that in colours upon you which is fittest for the eye to see, as the constant, though lamenting look of Lucretia, when she punished in herself another’s fault. Wherein he painteth not Lucretia, whom he never saw, but painteth the outward beauty of such a virtue. For these third be they, which most properly do imitate, to teach and delight : and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be ; but range only, reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be. These be they that, as the first and most noble sort may justly be termed *Vates*, so these are waited on in the excellentest languages, and best understandings, with the fore-described name of Poets. For these, indeed, do merely make,

to imitate; and imitate, both to delight and teach; and delight, to move men to take that goodness in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger; and teach, to make them know that goodness, whereunto they are moved: which being the noblest scope, to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to bark at them.

‘These be subdivided into sundry more special denominations: the most notable be the Heroic, Lyric, Tragic, Comic, Satiric, Iambic, Elegiac, Pastoral, and certain others: some of these being termed according to the matter they deal with; some by the sort of verse they liked best to write in. For, indeed, the greatest part of Poets have apparelled their poetical inventions in that numerous kind of writing which is called Verse, indeed but apparelled verse, being but an ornament, and no cause to Poetry; since there have been many most excellent Poets that never versified, and now swarm many versifiers that need never answer to the name of Poets. For Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperii*, ‘the portraiture of a just empire,’ under the name of Cyrus (as Cicero saith of him) made therein an absolute heroical poem. So did Heliodorus, in his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea. And yet both these wrote in prose; which I speak to show, that it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a Poet (no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who though he pleaded in armour, should be an advocate and no soldier): but it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a Poet by. Although, indeed, the senate of

Poets have chosen verse as their fittest raiment; meaning, as in matter they passed all in all, so in manner to go beyond them: not speaking table-talk fashion, or like men in a dream, words as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but piecing each syllable of each word by just proportion, according to the dignity of the subject.

‘Now therefore it shall not be amiss, first, to weigh ~~this~~ latter sort of Poetry by his works, and then by his parts; and, if in neither of these anatomies he be commendable, I hope we shall receive a more favourable sentence. This purifying of wit, this enriching of memory, enabling of judgement, and enlarging of conceits which commonly we call ‘learning,’ under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed; the final end is, to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls made worse by their clay-lodgings can be capable of: this, according to the inclination of man, bred many-formed impressions. For some that thought this felicity principally to be gotten by knowledge, and no knowledge to be so high or heavenly as to be acquainted with the stars, gave themselves to Astronomy: others, persuading themselves to be demi-gods, if they knew the causes of things, became Natural and Supernatural Philosophers: some an admirable delight drew to Music; and some the certainty of demonstrations to the Mathematics: but all one and other having this scope, to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying of his own divine essence. •But when by the balance of experience it was found that the astronomer, looking to the stars, might fall in a ditch; that the inquiring

philosopher might be blind in himself, and the mathematician might draw forth a straight line with a crooked heart; then, lo! did proof, the over-ruler of opinions, make manifest that all these are but serving sciences, which as they have a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistress-knowledge, by the Greeks called *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, which stands (as I think) in the knowledge of a man's self, in the ethnic and politic consideration, with the end of well-doing and not of well-knowing only: even as the saddler's next end is to make a good saddle, but his farther end, to serve a noble faculty, which is horsemanship; so the horseman's to soldiery; and the soldier's, not only to have the skill, but to perform the practice, of a soldier. So that the ending end of all earthly learning being virtuous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just title to be princes over all the rest; wherein, if we can show it rightly, the Poet is worthy to have it before any other competitors.

‘Among whom principally, to challenge it, step forth the Moral Philosophers: whom methinks I see coming toward me with a sullen gravity, as though they could not abide vice by daylight; rudely clothed, for to witness outwardly their contempt of outward things, with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names; sophistically speaking against subtilty, and angry with any man in whom they see the first fault of anger. These men casting largesse as they go, of definitions, divisions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogative do soberly ask; ‘Whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to virtue, as that which teacheth

what Virtue is: and teacheth it not only by delivering forth his very being, his causes, and effects; but also by making known his enemy Vice, which must be destroyed, and his cumbersome servant Passion, which must be mastered; by showing the generalities that contain it, and the specialities that are derived from it; lastly, by plain setting down, how it extends itself out of the limits of a man's own little world to the government of families, and maintaining of public societies ?'

'The Historian scarce gives leisure to the Moralist to say so much, but that he (loaden with old mouse-eaten records, authorising himself for the most part upon other histories, whose greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundation Hearsay, having much ado to accord differing writers, and to pick truth out of partiality; better acquainted with a thousand years ago, than with the present age, and yet better knowing how this world goes, than how his own wit runs; curious for antiquities and inquisitive of novelties, a wonder to young folks, and a tyrant in table-talk) denieth, in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of virtue and virtuous actions is comparable to him. I am *Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis*. "The philosopher," saith he, "teacheth a disputative virtue, but I do an active: his virtue is excellent in the dangerless Academy of Plato, but mine showeth forth her honourable face in the battles of Marathon, Pharsalia, Poictiers, and Agincourt: he teacheth virtue by certain abstract considerations; but I only bid you follow the footing of them, that are gone before you: old-aged experience goeth beyond the fine-witted philosopher; but I give the ex-

perience of many ages : lastly, if he make the song-book, I put the learner's hand to the lute ; and if he be the guide, I am the light." Then would he allege you innumerable examples, confirming story by stories ; how much the wisest senators and princes have been directed by the credit of history, as Brutus, Alphonsus of Arragon (and who not? if need be). At length, the long line of their disputation makes a point in this, that the one giveth the precept, and the other the example.

' Now whom shall we find, since the question standeth for the highest form in the school of learning, to be mediator? Truly, as me seemeth, the Poet ; and if not a moderator, even the man that ought to carry the title from them both, and much more from all other serving sciences. Therefore compare we the Poet with the Historian, and with the Moral Philosopher ; and, if he go beyond them both, no other human skill can match him. For as for the Divine, with all reverence he is ever to be excepted ; not only for having his scope as far beyond any of these, as eternity exceedeth a moment, but even for passing each of these in themselves : and for the Lawyer, though *Jus* be the daughter of Justice, the chief of virtues, yet because he seeks to make men good rather *formidine pænæ* than *virtutis amore* ; or, to say righter down not endeavour to make men good, but that their evil hurt not others, having no care, so he be a good citizen, how bad a man he be : therefore, as one wickedness maketh him necessary, and necessity maketh him honourable, so is he not in the deepest truth to stand in rank with these, who all endeavour to take naughtiness away, and plant goodness even in the secretest cabinets of our

souls. And these four, are all that any way deal in the consideration of men's manners; which being the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it, deserve the best commendation.

‘The Philosopher therefore, and the Historian, are they which would win the goal, the one by precept, the other by example; but both, not having both, do both halt. For the Philosopher sitting down with the thorny arguments, the bare rule is so hard of utterance, and so misty to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him, shall wade in him until he be old, before he shall find sufficient cause to be honest. For his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and general, that happy is that man who may understand him, and more happy that can apply what he doth understand. On the other side, the Historian wanting the precept is so tied, not to what should be but to what is, to the particular truth of things and not to the general reason of things, that his example draweth no necessary consequence, and therefore a less fruitful doctrine.

‘Now doth the peerless Poet perform both; for whatsoever the Philosopher saith should be done, he giveth a perfect picture of it, by some one by whom he pre-supposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example: ‘a perfect picture’ (I say) for he yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that, whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description; which doth neither strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul, so much as that other doth. For as in outward things, to a man that had never seen an elephant or a rhinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, colour, bigness, and particular marks?

or of a gorgeous palace, an architect, who declaring the full beauties might well make the hearer able to repeat (as it were, by rote) all he had heard, yet should never satisfy his inward conceit, with being witness to itself of a true living knowledge? But the same man, as soon as he might see those beasts well painted, or that house well in model, should straightway grow, without need of any description, to a judicial comprehending of them: so no doubt the Philosopher with his learned definitions, be it of virtues or vices, matters of public policy or private government, replenisheth the memory with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which notwithstanding lie dark before the imaginative and judging power, if they be not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of Poesy.

‘Tully taketh much pains, and many times not without poetical helps, to make us know what force the love of our country hath in us. Let us but hear old Anchises, speaking in the midst of Troy’s flames; or see Ulysses, in the fulness of all Calypso’s delights, bewail his absence from barren and beggarly Ithaca. “Anger,” the Stoics said, “was a short madness;” let but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage, killing or whipping sheep and oxen, thinking them the army of Greeks with their chieftains Agamemnon and Menelaus: and tell me, if you have not a more familiar insight into anger, than finding in the schoolmen his genus and difference? See whether wisdom and temperance in Ulysses and Diomedes, valour in Achilles, friendship in Nisus and Euryalus even to an ignorant man carry not an apparent shining; and, contrarily, the remorse of conscience in Œdipus, the soon-repenting pride in Agamemnon, the self-devour-

ing cruelty in his father Atreus, the violence of ambition in the two Theban brothers, the sour sweetness of revenge in Medea; and (to fall lower) the Terentian Gnatho and our Chaucer's Pandar, so expressed, that we now use their names to signify their trades; and, finally, all virtues, vices, and passions, so in their own natural states laid to the view, that we seem not to hear of them, but clearly to see through them?

‘But, even in the most excellent determination of goodness, what Philosopher's counsel can so readily direct a prince, as the feigned Cyrus in Xenophon; or a virtuous man in all fortunes, as Æneas in Virgil; or a whole commonwealth, as the way of Sir Thomas More's Utopia? I say, ‘the way,’ because when Sir Thomas More erred, it was the fault of the man, and not of the poet: for that way of patterning a commonwealth was most absolute, though he perchance hath not so absolutely performed it. For the question is, whether the feigned image of Poetry, or the regular instruction of Philosophy, hath the more force in teaching. Wherein, if the Philosophers have more rightly showed themselves Philosophers, than the Poets have attained to the high top of their profession (as, in truth,

Mediocribus esse Poetis

Non Di, non homines, non concessere columnæ)

It is, I say again, not the fault of the art, but that by few men that art can be accomplished. Certainly even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the moral common places of uncharitableness and humbleness, as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus; or of disobedience and mercy, as the heavenly dis-

course of the lost child and the gracious father: but that his thorough-searching wisdom knew the estate of Dives burning in hell, and of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, would more constantly, as it were, inhabit both the memory and judgement. Truly for myself (me seems) I see before mine eyes the lost child's disdainful prodigality turned to envy a swine's dinner: which by the learned divines are thought, not historical acts, but instructing parables.

‘ For conclusion, I say, the Philosopher teacheth: but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him; that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught. But the Poet is the food for the tender stomachs; the Poet is, indeed, the right popular Philosopher. Whereof Æsop's Tales give good proof; whose pretty allegories, stealing under the formal tales of beasts, make many more beastly than beasts begin to hear the sound of virtue from those dumb speakers.’ * * * *

‘ Now, to that, which commonly is attributed to the praise of History, in respect of the notable learning which is got by marking the success, as though therein a man should see virtue exalted and vice punished, truly that commendation is peculiar to Poetry, and far off from History. For, indeed, Poetry ever sets virtue so out in her best colours, making Fortune her well-waiting handmaid, that one must needs be enamoured of her. Well may you see Ulysses in a storm, and in other hard plights; but they are but exercises of patience and magnanimity, to make them shine the more in the near-following prosperity. And, on the contrary part, if evil men come to the stage, they ever go out (as the tragedy-writer answered to one, that misliked the show of such per-

sons) so manacled, as they little animate folks to follow them. But History, being captived to the truth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well-doing, and an encouragement to unbridled wickedness. For see we not valiant Miltiades rot in his fetters; the just Phocion, and the accomplished Socrates, put to death like traitors; the cruel Severus live prosperously; the excellent Severus miserably murdered; Sylla and Marius dying in their beds; Pompey and Cicero slain, then when they would have thought exile a happiness? See we not virtuous Cato driven to kill himself; and rebel Casar so advanced, that his name yet, after sixteen hundred years, lasteth in the highest honour? And mark but even Cæsar's own words of the fore-named Sylla (who, in that only did honestly, to put down his dishonest tyranny), *litteras nescivit*: as if want of learning caused him to do well. He meant it not by Poetry, which, not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hell for tyrants; nor yet by Philosophy, which teacheth *occidentales esse miseros*; but, no doubt, by skill in History: for that indeed can afford you Cypselus, Periander, Phalaris, Dionysius, and I know not how many more of the same kennel, that speed well enough in their abominable injustice of usurpation.

‘I conclude therefore, that he excelleth History, not only in furnishing the mind with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that, which deserves to be called and accounted ‘good:’ which setting forward and moving to well-doing indeed setteth the laurel crown upon the Poet as victorious, not only over the Historian, but over the Philosopher: howsoever, in teaching, it may be questionable.’

From the 'Arcadia.'

—‘ Now, Sir, thus for ourselves it is ; we are in profession but shepherds, and in this country of Laconia little better than strangers, and therefore neither in skill nor ability of power greatly to stead you. But what we can present unto you is this : Arcadia, of which country we are, is but a little way hence ; and even upon the next confines there dwelleth a gentleman, by name Kalander, who vouchsafeth much favour unto us : a man, who for his hospitality is so much haunted, that no news stirs but comes to his ears ; for his upright dealing so beloved of his neighbours, that he hath many ever ready to do him their utmost service ; and by the great good-will our prince bears him, may soon obtain the use of his name and credit, which hath a principal sway not only in his own Arcadia, but in all these countries of Peloponnesus ; and (which is worth all) all these things give him not so much power, as his nature gives him will to benefit : so that it seems, no music is so sweet to his ear as deserved thanks. To him we will bring you, and there you may recover again your health, without which you cannot be able to make any diligent search for your friends ; and, therefore, you must labour for it. Besides, we are sure the comfort of courtesy, and ease of wise counsel, shall not be wanting.

‘ Musidorus (who, beside he was merely unacquainted in the country, had his wits astonished with sorrow) gave easy consent to that, from which he saw no reason to disagree : and therefore, defraying the mariners with a ring bestowed upon them, they

took their journey together through Laconia; Claius and Strephon by course carrying his chest for him, Musidorus only bearing in his countenance evident marks of a sorrowful mind supported with a weak body. Which they perceiving, and knowing that the violence of sorrow is not, at the first, to be striven withal (being like a mighty beast, sooner tamed with following, than overthrown by withstanding) they gave way unto it for that day and the next; never troubling him either with asking questions, or finding fault with his melancholy, but rather fitting to his doleful dolorous discourses of their own and other folks' misfortune. Which speeches, though they had not a lively entrance to his senses shut up in sorrow, yet like one half-asleep he took hold of much of the matters spoken unto him, so as a man may say ere sorrow was aware, they made his thoughts bear away something else beside his own sorrow; which wrought so in him, that at length he grew content to mark their speeches, then to marvel at such wit in shepherds, after to like their company, and lastly to vouchsafe conference: so that the third day after, in the time that the morning did strew roses and violets in the heavenly floor against the coming of the sun, the nightingales (striking one with the other, which could in most dainty variety recount their wrong-caused sorrow) made them put off their sleep, and rising from under a tree, which that night had been their pavilion, they went on their journey, which by and by welcomed Musidorus' eyes (wearied with the wasted soil of Laconia) with delightful prospects: There were hills, which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble valleys, whose base estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers;

meadows, enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade were witnessed so too, by the cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs with bleating oratory craved the dam's comfort: here a shepherd's boy piping, as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting, and withal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice-music. As for the houses of the country (for many houses came under their eye) they were all scattered, no two being one by the other, and yet not so far off as that it barred mutual succour; a show, as it were, of an accompanyable solitariness, and of a civil wildness. "I pray you," said Musidorus, then first unsealing his long-silent lips, "what countries be these we pass through, which are so divers in show, the one wanting no store, the other having no store but of want?"

"The country," answered Claius, "where you were cast ashore, and now are passed through, is Laconia; not so poor by the barrenness of the soil (though in itself not passing fertile) as by a civil war, which being these two years within the bowels of that estate, between the gentlemen and the peasants (by them named 'Helots') hath in this sort, as it were, disfigured the face of nature, and made it so inhospitable as now you have found it: the towns, neither of the one side nor the other, willingly opening their gates to strangers, nor strangers willingly entering for fear of being mistaken.

"But this country, where now you set your foot, is Arcadia: and even hard by is the house of Ka-

lander, whither we lead you. This country being thus decked with peace, and (the child of peace) good husbandry, these houses you see so scattered are of men, as we two are, that live upon the commodity of their sheep, and therefore in the division of the Arcadian estate are termed shepherds; a happy people, wanting little, because they desire not much.” “What cause then,” said Musidorus, “made you venture to leave this sweet life, and put yourself in yonder unpleasant and dangerous realm?” “Guarded with poverty,” answered Strephon, “and guided with love.” “But now,” said Claius, “since it hath pleased you to ask any thing of us, whose baseness is such as the very knowledge is darkness, give us leave to know something of you, and of the young man you so much lament, that at least we may be the better instructed to inform Kalander, and he the better know how to proportion his entertainment.” Musidorus (according to the agreement between Pyrocles and him to alter their names) answered, that ‘he called himself Palladius, and his friend Daiphantus;’ but “till I have him again,” said he, “I am indeed nothing, and therefore my story is of nothing: his entertainment (since so good a man he is) cannot be so low, as I account my estate; and in sum, the sum of all his courtesy, may be to help me by some means to seek my friend.”

‘They perceived he was not willing to open himself farther, and therefore without farther questioning brought him to the house, about which they might see (with fit consideration both of the air, the prospect, and the nature of the ground) all such necessary additions to a great house, as might well show Kalander knew that provision is the foundation

of hospitality, and thrift the fuel of magnificence. The house itself was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness, as an honourable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and stairs rather directed to the use of the guest, than to the eye of the artificer; and yet as the one chiefly heeded, so the other not neglected: each place handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness; not so dainty as not to be trod on, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it was exceeding beautiful. The servants not so many in number, as cleanly in apparel, and serviceable in behaviour; testifying even in their countenances, that their master took as well care to be served, as of them that did serve. * * * *

‘ This country Arcadia, among all the provinces of Greece, hath ever been had in singular reputation, partly for the sweetness of the air and other natural benefits, but principally for the well-tempered minds of the people, who (finding that the shining title of glory, so much affected by other nations, doth indeed help little to the happiness of life) are the only people, which as by their justice and providence give neither cause nor hope to their neighbours to annoy them, so are they not stirred with false praise to trouble others quiet; thinking it a small reward for the wasting of their own lives in ravening, that their posterity should long after say they had done so. Even the Muses seem to approve their good determination, by choosing this country for their chief repairing-place, and by bestowing their perfections so largely here, that the very shepherds have their fan-

cies lifted to so high conceits, as the learned of other nations are content both to borrow their names and imitate their cunning.

‘ Here dwelleth and reigneth this prince, whose picture you see, by name Basilius ; a prince of sufficient skill to govern so quiet a country, where the good minds of the former princes had set down good laws, and the well-bringing up of the people doth serve as a most sure bond to hold them. But to be plain with you, he excels in nothing so much as the zealous love of his people, wherein he doth not only pass all his own foregoers, but, as I think, all the princes living. Whereof the cause is, that though he exceed not in the virtues which get admiration, as depth of wisdom, height of courage, and largeness of magnificence ; yet is he notable in those which stir affection, as truth of word, meekness, courtesy, mercifulness, and liberality.

‘ He, being already well stricken in years, married a young princess named Gynecia, daughter to the King of Cyprus, of notable beauty, as by her picture you see : a woman of great wit, and in truth of more princely virtues than her husband ; of most unspotted chastity ; but of so working a mind and so vehement spirits, as a man may say, it was happy she took a good course, for otherwise it would have been terrible.

‘ Of these two are brought into the world two daughters, so beyond measure excellent in all the gifts allotted to reasonable creatures, that we may think they were born to show that Nature is no step-mother to that sex, how much soever some men (sharp-witted only in evil speaking) have sought to disgrace them. The elder is named Pamela ; by many

men not deemed inferior to her sister : for my part, when I marked them both, methought there was (if, at least, such perfections may receive the word of ‘more’) more sweetness in Philoclea, but more majesty in Pamela : methought love played in Philoclea’s eyes, and threatened in Pamela’s : methought Philoclea’s beauty only persuaded, but so persuaded as all hearts must yield ; Pamela’s beauty used violence, and such violence as no heart could resist. And it seems, that such proportion is between their minds : Philoclea so bashful, as though her excellences had stolen into her before she was aware ; so humble, that she will put all pride out of countenance ; in sum, such proceeding as will stir hope, but teach hope good manners : Pamela of high thoughts, who avoids not pride with not knowing her excellences, but by making that one of her excellences to be void of pride ; her mother’s wisdom, greatness, nobility, but (if I can guess aright) knit with a more constant temper. Now then, our Basilius being so publicly happy, as to be a prince ; and so happy in that happiness, as to be a beloved prince ; and so in his private [life] blessed, as to have so excellent a wife and so over-excellent children, hath of late taken a course, which yet makes him more spoken of than all these blessings. For, having made a journey to Delphi, and safely returned within short space, he brake up his court, and retired himself, his wife and children, into a certain forest hereby, which he called ‘his Desert ;’ wherein (beside a house appointed for stables, and lodgings for certain persons of mean calling, who do all household-services) he hath builded two fine lodges : in the one of them himself remains with his younger

daughter Philoclea, which was the cause they three were matched together in this picture, without having any other creature living in that lodge with him.

‘ Which though it be strange, yet not so strange as the course he hath taken with the princess Pamela, whom he hath placed in the other lodge : but how, think you, accompanied ? Truly with none other but one Dametus, the most arrant doltish clown, that I think ever was without the privilege of a bable, with his wife Miso and daughter Mopsa, in whom no wit can devise any thing wherein they may pleasure her, but to exercise her patience and to serve for a foil of her perfections. This loutish clown is such, that you never saw so ill-favoured a visor ; his behaviour such, that he is beyond the degree of ridiculous ; and for his apparel, even as I would wish him : Myso, his wife, so handsome a beldam, that only her face and splayfoot have made her accused for a witch ; only one good point she hath, that she observes decorum, having a froward mind in a wretched body. Between these two personages (who never agreed in any humour, but in disagreeing) is issued forth mistress Mopsa, a fit woman to participate of both their perfections : but because a pleasant fellow of my acquaintance set forth her praises in verse, I will only repeat them, and spare mine own tongue, since she goes for a woman. The verses are these, which I have so often caused to be sung, that I have them without book :

‘ What length of verse can serve brave Mopsa’s good to show,
When virtues strange, and beauties such as no n in them may
know ?

Thus shrewdly burthen’d then, how can my Muse escape ?
The gods must help, and precious things must serve to show her
shape.

Like great god Saturn fair, and like fair Venus chaste;
 As smooth as Pan, as Juno mild, like goddess Iris faced,
 With Cupid she foresees, and goes god Vulcan's pace;
 And, for a taste of all these gifts, she steals god Momus' grace.

Her forehead jacinth-like, her cheeks of opal hue,
 Her twinkling eyes bedeck'd with pearl, her lips a sapphire blue;
 Her hair like crapal stone; her mouth, O heavenly wide!
 Her skin like burnish'd gold, her hands like silver ore untried:
 As for her parts unknown, which hidden sure are best:
 Happy be they which will believe, and never seek the rest.*

ELEGIACS.

" *Dorus*.—Fortune, Nature, Love, long have contended about me,

Which should most miseries cast on a worm that I am.
 Fortune thus can say, ' Misery and misfortune is all one;
 And of misfortune, Fortune hath only the gift.
 With strong foes on land, on sea with contrary tempests,
 Still do I cross this wretch, whatso he taketh in hand.'
 ' Tush, tush,' said Nature, ' this is all but a trifle: a man's self
 Gives haps or mishaps, even as he ordereth his heart.
 But so his humour I frame, in a mould of choler adusted,
 That the delights of life shall be to him dolorous.'
 Love smiled, and thus said; ' What join'd to desire is unhappy?
 But, if he nought do desire, what can Heraclitus ail?
 None but I work by desire: by desire have I kindled in his soul
 Infernal agonies into a beauty divine:
 Where thou, poor Nature, left'st all thy due glory, to Fortune
 Her virtue is sovereign, Fortune a vassal of hers.'
 Nature abash'd went back: Fortune blush'd: yet she replied thus:
 ' And even in that love shall I reserve him a spite.'
 Thus, thus, alas! woeful by Nature, unhappy by Fortune;
 But most wretched I am, now Love awakes my desire."

SAPPHICS.

" If mine eyes can speak to do hearty errand,
 Or mine eye's language she do hap to judge of,
 So that eye's message be of her receiv'd,
 Hope, we do live yet.

* See Johnson's ' Lyce.'

But if eyes fail then when I most do need them,
Or if eye's language be not unto her known,
So that eye's message do return rejected,
Hope, we do both die.

Yet dying and dead, do we sing her honour :
So becomes our tomb monument of her praise ;
So becomes our loss the triumph of her gain ;
Hers be the glory.

If the spheres senseless do yet hold a music,
If the swan's sweet voice be not heard but at death,
If the mute timber, when it hath the life lost,
Yieldeth a lute's tune:

Are then human lives privileged so meanly,
As that hateful death can abridge them of power
With the vow of truth to record to all worlds,
That we be her spoils?

Thus not ending ends the due praise of her praise :
Fleshly vail consumes ; but a soul hath his life,
Which is held in love ; love it is, that hath join'd
Life to this our soul.

But if eyes can speak to do hearty errand,
Or mine eye's language she doth hap to judge of,
So that eye's message be of her received,
Hopc, we do live yet.

“ Virtue, beauty, and speech, did strike, wound, charm,
My heart, eyes, ears, with wonder, love, delight:
First, second, last, did bind, enforce, and arm,
His works, shows, suits, with wit, grace, and vow’s might.

Thus honour, liking, trust, much, far, and deep,
Held, pierced, possess'd, my judgement, sense, and will;
Till wrong, contempt, deceit, did grow, steal, creep,
Bonds, favour, faith, to break, defile, and kill.

Then grief,¹ unkindness,² proof,³ took,¹ kindled,² wrought
 Well-grounded,¹ noble,² due,³ spite,¹ rage,² disdain :
 But ah,¹ alas!² (in vain)³ my mind,¹ sight,² thought,³
 Doth him,¹ his face,² his words,³ leave,¹ shun,² refrain ;

For no thing, time, nor place, can loose, quench, ease,
 Mine own, embraced,¹ sought,² knot,³ fire,¹ disease.”

As somewhat less quaint in their composition,
 two additional specimens are subjoined.

“ The love, which is imprinted in my soul,
 With beauty’s seal and virtue fair disguised,
 With inward cries puts up a bitter roll
 Of huge complaints, that now it is despised.

Thus then the more I love, the wrong the more
 Monstrous appears ; long truth received late,
 Wrong stirs remorseful grief, grief’s deadly sore
 Unkindness breeds, unkindness fostereth hate.

But ah! the more I hate, the more I think
 Whom I do hate ; the more I think on him,
 The more his matchless gifts do deeply sink
 Into my breast, and loves renewed swim.
 What medicine then can such disease remove,
 Where love draws hate, and hate engendereth love ?”

“ As I my little flock on Ister bank
 (A little flock ; but well my pipe they couth)
 Did piping lead, the sun already sank
 Beyond our world, and ere I got my booth,
 Each thing with mantle black the night doth scotch :
 Saving the glow-worm, which would courteous be
 Of that small light oft watching shepherds see.

The welkin had full niggardly enclosed
 In coffer of dim clouds his silver groats,
 Ycleped stars; each thing to rest disposed,
 The caves were full, the mountains void of goats,
 The birds' eyes closed, closed their chirping notes.
 As for the nightingale, wood-music's king,
 It August was, he deign'd not then to sing.

Amid my sheep, though I saw nought to fear,
 Yet for I nothing saw, I feared sore;
 Then found I which thing is a charge to bear:
 As for my sheep, I dreaded mickle more
 Than ever for myself, since I was bore.
 I sat me down, for see to go ne could,
 And sang unto my sheep lest stray they should.

The song I sang old Languet had me taught,
 Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew,
 For clerkly reed and hating what is nought,
 For faithful heart, clean hands, and mouth as true:
 With his sweet skill my skill-less youth he drew.
 To have a feeling taste of Him that sits
 Beyond the heaven, far more beyond our wits.

He said, ' The music best thilk powers pleased,
 ' Has jump concord between our wit and will;
 ' Where highest notes to godliness are raised,
 ' And lowest sink not down to jot of ill : '
 With old true tales he wont mine ears to fill,
 ' How shepherds did of yore, how now they thrive,
 Spoiling their flock, or while 'twixt them they strive.'

He liked me, but pitied lustful youth :
 His good strong staff my slippery years upbore.
 He still hoped well, because I loved truth ;
 Till forced to part, with heart and eyes even sore
 To worthy Corydon he gave me o'er :
 But thus in oak's true shade recounted be,
 Which now in night's deep shade sheep heard of me."

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.*

[1532—1588.]

THIS nobleman was the fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland,† by Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Guilford. He is supposed to have been born in the year 1532. Of his education little is known. He was knighted when young, and made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Edward VI. In 1550 he married Amy, the daughter of Sir John Rosbart, when as a compliment to his father the King attended his nuptials; and it is remarkable, that from early youth to his latest day he was a successful courtier. Upon the death of Edward, he engaged with his father in support of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown, and accompanied him on his expedition into Norfolk; but upon the Duke's being arrested at Cambridge, he surrendered himself

* AUTHORITIES. Camden's *Annals*, Birch's *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, Fuller's *Worthies of Surrey*, Melvil's *Memoirs*, and Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages, &c. of the English Nation*.

† See his *Life*, I. 239.

at Mary's camp, and after lying for some months in the Tower, was arraigned for high treason, and adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The lords however interceding for him with the Queen, she restored him and all his brothers (except Lord Guildford) in blood, received him into favour, and made him Master of the Ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin in 1557.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, as she was apt to consult her eye rather than her understanding in the choice of her favourites, she advanced him to one of the highest posts of honour near her person, appointing him her Master of the Horse; and such was the influence of his insinuating arts and manners, that in the second year of her reign, she conferred upon him the dignity of Privy-Councillor, and honoured him with the Order of the Garter. About the same time, likewise, he was chosen High Steward of the University of Cambridge. So many corporate offices, indeed, were conferred upon him throughout the kingdom, that his interest became universally predominant; and the common people, to express their sense of and importance in the body politic, emphatically denominated him 'the heart of the court.'

Encouraged by these favours, he conceived the criminal project of getting rid of his wife, with the sanguine hope of rendering himself personally agreeable to her Majesty. The lady was accordingly sent to the house of one of his dependents in the country, where, it is said, he first attempted to have her taken off by poison but, failing in that design, he caused her to be thrown down from

the top of a stair-case.* She was at first obscurely buried, but that having given occasion to censure, he ordered her body to be taken up, and re-interred at Oxford with the greatest solemnity in St. Mary's Church.

The ruling passions of Dudley were, ambition and lust; and his natural accomplishments, improved as they had been by education, inspired him with the idea of gratifying both in all their extent: nor must Elizabeth herself wholly escape animadversion, as even before his wife's death, she had so far exceeded the bounds of female decorum in her conduct toward him, that at foreign courts her reputation was considerably affected by it. And after this tragical event, it was observed, that he met with a more favourable reception from her than ever. She did not, indeed, openly countenance his pretensions to her hand, but she seemed not at all displeased with the overture; only objecting, when her marriage with him was moved by the French ambassador, that 'he was not of the royal blood, and she could not think of raising a dependent to the rank of a companion.' It must be remarked however, in justice to her political character, that notwithstanding this blameable partiality, which sometimes gave him a prevailing influence at the council-board, she never confided to him the general administration of affairs. There, the abilities of Cecil, as a statesman, enabled him to undermine the voluptuous Dudley, whose sensuality checked the

* For a circumstantial account of this murder, see Aubrey's 'Antiquities of Berkshire.' It ought to be added, however, that Aubrey was almost proverbially credulous.

progress of his ambition. With this view, the crafty secretary, under the mask of consulting her favourite's gratification, suggested to her Majesty the propriety of a match between him and Mary Queen of Scots, who was then about to form a foreign alliance. The crown of Caledonia in possession, and the right of succession to that of England, were alluring baits; and Cecil knew, that should his rival be over-earnest in the pursuit of his object, he would infallibly lose the good graces of his royal mistress. Elizabeth, whatever was her motive, gave ear to the proposal, and ordered Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to open the matter to Mary: but that Queen, though resolved to reject the offer, fearing to come to an open rupture with her cousin, despatched Sir James Melvil to London, with instructions to evade the arrangement. The English Queen, upon this, entered on the commendation of Lord Robert Dudley; affirmed, that 'she would have married him herself, if she had not been determined to end her days in virginity;' and farther told Sir James Melvil, 'she wished that the Queen her sister might marry him, as meetest of all other with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions to be offended by any usurpation before her death; being assured, that he was so loving and trusty, that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during her time.' In the course of this curious conversation, which is given at large by Melvil in his 'Memoirs,' Sir James had named the Earl of Bedford as first commissioner 'to be sent to Scotland, to settle all differences between the two crowns, and Lord

Robert Dudley only as second. Elizabeth, taking fire at this, vowed she would make him a far greater earl than Bedford, and desired the ambassador to stay till he should see him created Earl of Leicester and Baron Denbigh, which was accordingly done at Westminster September 29, 1564, the Queen herself assisting at the ceremony, and helping to put on some of his robes. Not long afterward, upon the resignation of Sir John Mason, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

The Earl, however, seemed now rather to decline the match, than to desire it; excused himself to the Scottish ambassador from having ever entertained so proud a pretension, avowed his sense of his own unworthiness, and entreated her Majesty would not impute to him a matter, which the malice of his enemies had devised for his destruction. Within a few days afterward, Sir James Melvil obtained his despatch, with a more ample declaration of the Queen's mind, upon the subject of his embassy.

In the mean time the Earl of Leicester, the better to recommend himself at court, by showing his zeal in the service of his Sovereign, accused Sir Nicholas Bacon to her of having intermeddled in the affair of the succession, and assisted in the publication of a book against the title of the Queen of Scots. Upon this, her Majesty was highly offended; the author, on Hales, was taken up and imprisoned; and Bacon himself would infallibly have lost his office, if Leicester could have persuaded Sir Antony Brown to accept it.

In the November following, the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph on one part, and the Earl of

Murray and Secretary Liddington on the other, met near Berwick to treat of the marriage, but with slenderer and less earnest offers on the English side than was expected. The Earl of Leicester's behaviour had made a favourable impression upon the Queen of Scots, and she seemed so far to approve of the match, that Elizabeth began to fear it might take effect. Under these apprehensions, and at the solicitation of Secretary Cecil, she permitted Lord Darnley to take a journey into Scotland, with the hope that his presence might work some change in Mary's inclinations; and her project had the anticipated success. Mary soon afterward married that nobleman, who was, in consequence, publicly proclaimed King, and associated with her in the government of her realm.

In 1565, application was again made to Elizabeth to think seriously of marriage, as a mean to discourage the Scottish party in England, and to strengthen the general interest of the Protestant faith. The Emperor Maximilian proposed his brother the Archduke Charles, with very honourable conditions. The Earl of Sussex warmly favoured the match; but Leicester, presuming upon his interest with her Majesty, exerted himself to prevent it. This opposition was ill digested by Sussex, who was of a high spirit, and an honourable lineage. The professed enmity, to which their struggle gave birth, divided the court; and, whenever the two Earls went abroad, they were attended with a retinue of armed followers: so, that Elizabeth herself was, at last, obliged to interpose her authority to make up the breach. Sussex, however, continued his aversion till his death, and in his last sickness is said to have addressed his

friends to the following purport: "I am now passing into another world, and must leave you to your fortunes, and to the Queen's grace and goodness; but beware of the gypsy (meaning Leicester) for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast, so well as I do." *

At this era, the University of Oxford was in a most deplorable condition: its discipline had been long neglected, and its learning was in a state of almost total decay.† Leicester, its new Chancellor,

* The ground of this quarrel, however, is more fully explained in Burghley's Papers, from which it appears, that the Queen permitted it to be debated in council, 'Whether she should marry the Archduke, or Leicester?' Sussex and his friends drew up the reasons, why she should not marry Leicester. And from this measure we may judge of her object, in wishing to gain the consent of the Scottish court to the proposed match between Mary and Leicester; which was, that it might not appear derogatory to herself to marry him, after another Queen had agreed to accept his hand: but her council prudently overruled her inclinations.

† The whole University, indeed, could furnish only three preachers; and the audience was, of course, frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the reader an instance: the congregation being one Sunday destitute of a preacher, Taverner of Woodeaton, the Sheriff of the county, entered St. Mary's with his sword by his side and his gold chain about his neck, mounted the pulpit, and harangued the scholars in the following strain: "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's in the stony stage, where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit; and the sweet swallows of salvation." This Taverner, it seems, had been brought up in the Cardinal's College, was an Inceptor in Arts, and in deacon's orders, and a person at that time in high esteem for his learning in the University; so that from this specimen it may be inferred, to how low a character their studies were reduced.

laboured by all possible means to introduce into it improvements in literature, recommended in his letters the interests of religion and science, and pressed upon it's members a more close observance of their duty. This application was not without it's effect: provision was immediately made for reforming abuses in graces and dispensations, lectures and public exercises were enforced by statute, and academical habits were brought under regulation; the Earl continuing to patronise and regulate their proceedings upon every occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1566, Monsieur Rambouillet was sent to England by Charles IX. King of France with the order of St. Michael, to be conferred upon two English noblemen, whom her Majesty should select for that honour. She made choice of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester; the one distinguished by his high birth, and the other by her royal favour. The investiture took place, in the royal chapel at Whitehall, with extraordinary solemnity; no Englishman having ever before been admitted into this order, except Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.

This summer, the Queen made her first progress into the country (a laudable measure, which she subsequently often repeated during the remainder of her reign) and, on her return, she visited Oxford. Upon this occasion she was attended by the Earl of Leicester, who in a previous communication to the University, had desired them to make an honourable provision for her Majesty's reception.*

* On the thirty-first of August, as her Majesty approached, she was met at Wolvercote (where the jurisdiction of the University begins) by the Chancellor, four Doctors, and the Vice-

Upon her return to London, the parliament seemed resolved to insist upon her immediate marriage, or

Chancellor in their scarlet robes and hoods, and by eight Masters of Arts, who were Heads of Colleges or Halls. The Chancellor then delivered to her the staffs of the three superior beadles, and having received them back, and replaced them in the hands of their respective officers, the Canon of Christ Church made an elegant speech to her Majesty upon the occasion. She then held out her hand to the Orator and the Doctors, and as Dr. Humphreys drew near to kiss it, "Mr. Doctor," she said, smiling, "that loose gown becomes you mighty well; I wonder your notions should be so narrow." This Humphreys, though Regius Professor of Divinity, was, it seems, at the head of the Puritan party, and had opposed the ecclesiastical habits with great vehemence.

On entering the town, she found the streets lined with scholars from Bocardo to Quatervois, who as she passed along fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cried out, "Long live the Queen!" At Quatervois the Greek Professor addressed her Majesty in a Greek oration, and the Queen in an answer delivered in the same language commended his performance. Thence she was conveyed with the like pomp to Christ Church, where she was received by Mr. Kingsmill, the Public Orator; who in the name of the University congratulated her upon her arrival among them.

For seven days together she was magnificently entertained and expressed an extreme delight in the lectures, disputations, public exercises, and shows; at all of which she constantly attended. On the sixth day, she declared her satisfaction in a Latin speech, and assured them of her favour and protection. The day following she took her leave, and was conducted by the Heads as far as Shotover Hill, when the Earl of Leicester gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their jurisdiction. Mr. Roger Marbeck then made an oration to her Majesty, and having stated the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, gratefully acknowledged its recent encouragements, and the prospect of its arising, under her Majesty's most gracious administration, to a superior degree of splendor. The Queen returned him a very favourable answer, and casting her eyes back upon Oxford with

the declaration of a successor. The Earl of Leicester had earnestly supported the title of the Queen of Scots; but, not meeting with the success which he desired, he contended that a husband ought to be imposed upon Elizabeth, or that a successor should even against her inclination be appointed by parliament. In this, he was joined openly by the Earl of Pembroke, and privately by the Duke of Norfolk. The Queen, highly incensed at their behaviour, for some time prohibited them all access to her person: it was not long, however, before they submitted, and obtained her Majesty's pardon.

During his disgrace, Leicester is suspected of having entered into a traitorous correspondence with the Irish, who had about this period broken out into open rebellion. Letters from him, indeed, are said to have been found upon a distinguished insurgent, who was killed in battle; but, before the charge could be regularly framed into articles, he was by his reconciliation with the Queen placed completely above it's reach.

The next year, Count Stolberg was despatched into England by the Emperor, to revive the treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and Elizabeth. Dudley, however, continued to throw every obstacle in it's way, by laying before her the inconveniences which would necessarily arise from a

all possible marks of tenderness and affection, bade him farewell. Her Majesty's countenance (it may here be observed) and the Earl of Leicester's influence, had such an effect upon this learned body, that within a few years Oxford produced more eminent men in every branch of science, than it had done in any preceding age.

foreign match :* and the Archduke, not long afterward, married the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria.

In 1568, the Queen of Scots made her escape into England; and Leicester appears to have continued strongly attached to her interest. He is even said to have entered into a conspiracy against Secretary Cecil, because he suspected him of favouring the succession of the house of Suffolk.

Mary was, at this period, again a widow. Her second husband, Lord Darnley, had been first assassinated, as it is conjectured, and subsequently blown up by gunpowder with all his attendants in 1566: Bothwell, her favourite, had been tried for the murder, and by her influence acquitted; and, that no room might be left to doubt his guilt, he shortly afterward received her hand in marriage. Upon which, the Earl of Murray and other lords raised an army against her, took her prisoner, and obliged her to resign her crown to her son, an infant of thirteen months old, who was immediately crowned with the title of James VI. Murray was appointed Regent: Bothwell fled to Denmark, and died in obscurity; and Mary took refuge in England.

Here Leicester projected a new plan for her restoration, by suggesting a marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk. He took upon himself to open the matter to the Duke, extenuated the crimes laid to her charge, wrote letters to her in commendation of her projected husband, and even drew up certain articles engaging, on her acceptance of the pro-

* The difficulties indeed, with respect to religion, might have been considered as a sufficient bar, had no other impediment stood in the way, to the success of all such negotiations.

posed conditions, to procure for her the present possession of the crown of Scotland, and that of England in reversion.

He was now only waiting for a convenient opportunity of laying the design before Elizabeth, when Murray sent secret advice to her Majesty of the whole transaction, charging the Duke of Norfolk with having engaged in private practices to secure to himself the two crowns. This allegation, supported by circumstantial evidence, raised the Queen's jealousy to a high degree; upon which, Norfolk anxiously pressed the Earl of Leicester to impart the project to his royal mistress without delay. But Leicester put it off from time to time, till at length falling sick at Titchfield, or at least pretending sickness, and being there visited by Elizabeth, he declared the whole matter to her with sighs and tears: and not long afterward, when Norfolk and the other lords were taken into custody, he gave such an account of his proceedings before the council, that he easily obtained her Majesty's pardon.

In 1571 died, in a strange manner, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton,* who, after having headed Leicester's party against Secretary Cecil, had lately gone over to the opposite faction. Being at Leicester's house at

* Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was descended from an ancient family in Warwickshire, and educated abroad. From early youth he had manifested an inclination for political studies, and before he attained the age of thirty, he was esteemed an accomplished courtier. His knowledge of the true interests of his country led him to oppose, in parliament, the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain; and his attachment to a Protestant cause engaged him in secret measures for the support of Wyatt's rebellion. Upon this, he was indicted for high treason: but he pleaded his own cause with so much ability, that neither the

supper, he was violently seized with an imposthuma-
tion in his lungs, and died in a few days, not with-
out suspicion of poison. It is said that, on his
changing sides, Leicester was apprehensive he might
make a disclosure of some of his intrigues.* The
day before his death, he attributed his distemper
to a sallad which he ate at the Earl's, and broke
out into bitter invectives against his cruelty. The
Earl, however, made a solemn show of lamentation
over him, and in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham
thus expressed himself; " We have lost on Monday

strength of the evidence, nor the influence of the ministry, could
prevail against him. The jury however, who acquitted him,
were prosecuted for their verdict by the Attorney-General in
the Star-Chamber.

Elizabeth, a ready discerner of merit, called him to court
in the first year of her reign, and employing his talents in
the department in which she knew he chiefly excelled, sent him
upon various special embassies to France and Scotland; his
knowledge of the political state of Europe, and of men and
manners, having acquired him the reputation of being one of
the ablest negotiators of his time. But the same talents, under
the influence of ambition, carrying him deep into court-in-
trigues at home, made him sacrifice his honour to support his
interest with the reigning favourite. Becoming a partisan in
Leicester's faction, he involved himself in many troubles upon
his account; particularly in 1569, when that nobleman em-
braced the proposal made to him by the Earl of Murray,
of marrying the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.
Throgmorton, upon Leicester's confession of the project, dis-
covering from this instance of perfidy that he had mistaken his
principal's character, went over to Cecil's interest, and, it is
imagined, betrayed to him some important secrets.

* He likewise bore him a secret grudge for an account sent
by him to Elizabeth, while he was her ambassador in France, of
a whisper circulated at the Duke of Montmorenci's table, that
' her Majesty was about to marry her horse-keeper;' meaning
Leicester, her Master of the Horse.

our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death. God hath his soul; and we, his friends, great loss of his body."

About this time, a marriage was proposed between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou; upon which occasion, Leicester is said to have laid aside his pretensions, and to have forwarded the negociation with considerable zeal. But this is not very probable; and it appears, that when the Duke of Anjou insisted upon a toleration in the exercise of his own religion, her Majesty absolutely refused to comply.

With a view to prevent any farther attempts in favour of the imprisoned Mary, a law was now enacted, prohibiting, under a severe penalty, the declaring of any person whatsoever to be heir or successor of the Queen, except it were the natural issue of her body. This expression, unusual in statutes of this kind, as the term 'natural' was ordinarily applied by the lawyers to children born out of wedlock, gave great occasion to censure; and loud clamours were raised against Leicester, as if, by inserting this clause, he had designed to involve the realm in fresh disputes. It was urged, that no possible reason could be imagined, why the common form of 'lawful' should be changed to that of 'natural' issue, unless with a view of reflecting upon the honour of her Majesty, and of obtruding hereafter under that designation some bastard son of his own.

From this time, it appears, Leicester was universally and justly detested: his pride and venality

had offended all the principal officers of state, as his other crimes had drawn down upon him the odium of the people. He had openly quarrelled with Archbishop Parker and the Bishop of London, because they had refused a dispensation for holding a valuable benefice to a child, whose father had bribed him to obtain this favour. He had likewise claimed or received private gifts on the disposal of bishoprics, beside many lucrative grants from the crown. In consequence of his favour with the Queen, he carried his insolence to other courtiers so high, as even in the presence to treat them with the utmost indignity. At length a privy-councillor, unable to contain his resentment at such usage, struck him; upon which the Queen told him, 'he had forfeited his hand:' but the gentleman, with noble intrepidity, entreated her Majesty to 'suspend this judgement, till the traitor who better deserved it had lost his head.'

The year 1572 is but too fatally memorable for the barbarous Massacre of Paris.* This sanguinary plot was laid with the deepest dissimulation; and whether we consider the dignity of the persons by whom it was projected, the rank of the selected victims, or the innocence of the slaughtered multitude, we shall find no parallel example in the pages of history. Charles IX., Katharine of Medicis his mother, and Pope Gregory XIII. were the contrivers of this inhuman butchery. The Queen-Dowager of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, afterward Henry IV. of France, and the Princess Margaret the sister of Charles.

* Called 'The Massacre of St. Bartholomew,' because the bloody business commenced on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day.

The same pretext drew thither Henry Prince of Bearn, and his uncle the Prince of Condé. The celebrated Admiral Coligni was invited by the King, with a promise of being declared General in a war against Spain; and the other chiefs of the Hugonots,* depending upon a recent pacification, accom-

* French Protestants, so called (according to some writers) from *Hugo* Aubriot, Treasurer of the Finances to Charles V. of France, mayor of Paris, and founder of the Bastile in 1369. He subsequently incurred the imputation of heresy, and was sentenced to be confined within two walls, whence he was released by the Maillotins, a band of insurgents in 1381. Others, however, as the name originated at Tours, refer it to one *Hugon*, Count of that city, whose temper was so cruel, that he was supposed even after his death to walk about in the night-time, beating all he met; and this etymology derives some plausibility from the circumstance, that near one of the gates of Tours, now called *Fourgon* (qu. *feu Hugon*) were subterraneous vaults, in which the first French Protestants used to assemble. *Cæsaroduni Hugo rex celebratur, qui noctu pomæria civitatis obsequitare, et obscuros homines pulsare ac rapere dicitur. Ab eo 'Hugonoti' appellati, qui ad ea loca ad conciones audiendas ac preces faciendas itidem noctu (quia interdiu non licebat) agminatim in occulto conveniebant.* (Thuan. Hist. XXIV. ad. Ann. 1560.) It was then too, it appears, the practice to impute political motives to some, who assumed only the character of religious dissent; *nam alios ad religionem tantum respicere: alios religionis quidem causam obtendere, sed reip. statum præcipuè spectare.* (Id. ib. XXV.) A third class trace it to a remoter source, and contend that it was bestowed upon the Reformed, because they supported the descendants of *Hugh* Capet; whereas the Leaguers were solicitous to give the crown to the house of Guise, as descended from Charles the Great. Lastly, it is derived from an incorrect pronunciation of the German word *Eidgnossen*, 'Confederates,' a name originally applied to the Genevese allies of the Swiss Cantons, in their patriotic struggles against Charles III. Duke of Savoy.

Their persecutions have been numerous and severe. They obtained indeed a brief remission of their sufferings, in 1576,

panied him. The Queen of Navarre was taken off by poison. Coligni was shot at, as he was going home at noon, but he was only wounded. And in the evening the Duke of Guise communicating the King's secret intentions to Charron, Intendant of Paris, the Roman Catholic citizens were directed, as soon as they should hear an alarm struck on the bell of the palace-clock, to place lights in their windows by way of distinction, and afterward to slaughter the Hugonots indiscriminately, without regard to sex or age.

At midnight Guise, accompanied by the Duke of Aumale Grand Prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred chosen soldiers, broke open the gates of the Admiral's house. The wounded Coligni was despatched, and his body thrown into the street. His domestics were assassinated without mercy; and the alarm being sounded, a general massacre ensued. Two thousand persons were put to the sword before morning, and a great number in the course of the ensuing day. At the same time, by orders from the court, the Hugonots in all the capital cities throughout France shared the same fate: with the exception of two or three garrison-towns, whose governors refused to execute the bloody mandate, saying, '*the King must have been out of his senses when it was issued.*' The mangled corpse of the Admiral, after having been insulted by the bigoted populace, was hung upon the gibbet of Monttaucon; and the young King of Navarre, the

from Henry III.; and, in 1598, Henry IV. extended to them protection by the Edict of Nantes: but this was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685.

Prince of Bearn, and the Prince of Condé, were assured by Charles and his savage mother, that ‘if they did not embrace the Popish religion, they should not live three days.’ By fair promises, however, they gained time, and at last made their escape.

According to Camden, it was intended to have involved England in the fate of this evil day; for Leicester and Burghley had been invited to the nuptials, and were to have been cut off, as active supporters of the Protestant interest. The truth of this statement is attested by the subsequent demand of the French ambassador, that all the French who had taken refuge in England on hearing of the massacre, should be delivered up as rebellious subjects; a demand which Elizabeth however with equal resolution and humanity peremptorily refused.*

* At Rome and in Spain this Massacre, which no liberal Catholic of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings. At Rome in particular, as we are told by Thuanus, *Decretum fuit, ut rectè Pontifex cum Cardinalibus ad B. Marci concederet, et D. O. M. pro tanto beneficio sedi Romanæ, orbique Christiano collato gratias ritu solemniter ageret; item ut die Lunæ proximâ sacrum solenne in Minervæ æde celebraretur, eique Pontifex et Cardinales intersint: inde Jubilæum toto Christiano orbe publicetur. Ejus causæ expressæ sunt, ut agerentur Deo gratiæ ob deletos in Galliâ veritatis et ecclesiæ hostes, ob victoriam de Turcis reportatam, &c. &c.!!* (Hist. L. III.) Well indeed might the historian exclaim, from Statius,

*Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credent
Sæcula! nos certè taceamus, et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi nostræ pateamur crîmina gentis*

See Job iii. 3, &c. and the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, who himself narrowly escaped being involved in the general destruction.

In the course of this year, Leicester (it is supposed) privately married Lady Douglas Howard, Dowager-Baroness of Sheffield; but though some secret memoirs of this unfortunate lady, whom he refused to own as his wife,* were handed about, the affair never reached the Queen's ear. The wits of the court however, after his marriage with the Countess-Dowager of Essex became public, stiled these two ladies 'Leicester's two Testaments,' calling the first 'the Old,' and the latter 'the New' Testament. But all the representations made to Elizabeth of his reprehensible conduct had so little effect upon her, that in 1575 she made him a visit at his castle of Kenilworth;† and the festivities upon this occasion were, by their sumptuousness, distinguished among the splendors of her brilliant reign. Here he entertained her, with all imaginable magnificence, for seventeen days.‡

* Unable to make her desist from her pretensions, he endeavoured (says Dugdale) to take her off by poison, and she narrowly escaped death with the loss of her hair and nails. He, subsequently, by his persecutions compelled her to marry another person. He had previously "had the *good fortune*," says the author of the 'Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley' (published, in 1706, with a preface by Dr. Drake) "to have her husband die quickly with an extreme rheum in his head, as it was given out; but, as others say, with an artificial catarrh, that stopped his breath!" Put it is a bitter book, and fully makes out it's subject to be (as Mezeray represents him) *capable de tous crimes: pour satisfaire son ambition et sa paillardie; au reste, adroit et rusé courtisan*; in which character, Grotius and Strada nearly agree.

† This (with the manors, and castles, of Denbigh and Chirk) had been granted to his Lordship and his heirs by letters-patent in the fifth year of her reign, and upon the enlarging and adorning of it he had expended not less than 60,000/.

‡ 'At her first entrance, a floating island was discerned upon a large pool, glittering with torches; on which sat the

Toward the close of the year Devereux, Earl of Essex, was by Leicester's management recalled from Ireland, after having sustained a considerable loss in his private fortunes. But, expressing his resentment with too much eagerness upon the occasion, he was sent back into that kingdom with the unprofitable title of Earl Marshal. He had not been long returned however, before he died of a bloody flux, in the most agonising torments. These circumstances excited a suspicion of poison, which Leicester was reported to have administered through the

lady of the lake, attended by two nymphs, who addressed her Majesty in verse with an historical account of the antiquity and owners of the castle; and the speech was closed with the sound of cornets, and other instruments of loud music. Within the lower court was erected a stately bridge, twenty feet wide, and seventy feet long, over which the Queen was to pass; and on each side stood columns, with presents upon them to her Majesty from the gods. Silvanus offered a cage of wild-fowl, and Pomona divers sorts of fruits; Ceres gave corn, and Bacchus wine; Neptune presented sea-fish, Mars the habiliments of war, and Phæbus all kinds of musical instruments.

‘During her stay, variety of sports and shows were daily exhibited. In the chace was a savage man with satyrs; there were bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, and a country-wake, running at the quintain; and morrice-dancing. And that no sort of diversion might be omitted, the Coventry men came, and acted the ancient play (so long since used in their city) called ‘Hocks-Tuesday,’ representing the destruction of the Danes in the reign of King Ethelred; which proved so agreeable to her Majesty, that she ordered them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to defray the charges of the feast. There were, besides, on the pool, a triton riding on a mermaid eighteen feet long, and Arion upon a dolphin.’

An estimate may be formed of the expense from the quantity of beer drunk upon this occasion, which amounted to three hundred and twenty hogsheads.

agency of two of Essex's own servants.* The 'Report of his Death'† was contradicted, indeed, by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; but the suspicion nevertheless gained ground shortly afterward, upon Dudley's marrying the dead man's widow.‡ This event the French ambassador Simier, imagining the Queen's private attachment to Leicester the only obstacle to her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, revealed to Elizabeth;§ and so intemperate was her rage upon the occasion, that she forbade him the court, and would have committed him to the Tower, if the Earl of Sussex had not for prudential reasons prevented it.

In 1579, the Duke of Anjou visited England; but, for a long time, he met with no better success than his envoy. At length however, as he was one day conversing with her Majesty, she drew a ring from her finger, and placed it upon his on certain private con-

* His Lordship's page, it was added, who always tasted his drink before he gave it him, very hardly escaped with life, and not without the loss of his hair, though he drank but a small quantity; and the Earl, in compassion to the boy, a little before his death drank to him in a friendly manner, saying, "I drink to thee, my Robin; and be not afraid, for this is a better cup of drink than that whereof thou tookest the taste, when we were both poisoned."

† Inserted by Hearne, in his preface to '*Camdeni Elizabetha*,' § 28.

‡ Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys.

§ It has been suggested, that Leicester plotted against Simier's life in resentment of this discovery. The suspicion was founded upon two circumstances: one, a proclamation issued by the Queen, that no person should presume to offer any affront to the French ambassador or his servants; the other, that as Simier was attending Elizabeth upon the river, a gun was discharged, the contents of which passing his barge wounded one of the Queen's watermen through both arms.

ditions, which had been mutually arranged between them. The company present mistook it for a contract of marriage; and Leicester, with the rest of his faction, who had spared no pains to frustrate the project, exclaimed that ‘the Queen, the realm, and the reformed religion were undone.’ The ladies of honour * likewise, who were all in his interest, broke out into bitter lamentations; upon which Elizabeth was so terrified, that early the next morning she sent for the Duke of Anjou, and dismissed him her court. At the same time to do him honour, she attended him herself as far as Canterbury, and ordered Leicester and some others of her nobility to wait upon him to Antwerp, to which place he retired in 1582.

In 1585 the Netherlands, which had lately thrown off the Spanish yoke, being greatly distressed, desired Elizabeth to take them under her royal protection. The Queen gave the deputies a favourable audience; but she refused the offered sovereignty, and only engaged to furnish them with a supply of men and money, which she soon afterward sent to them under the conduct of the Earl of Leicester.

On the eighth of December he embarked, attended by several persons of distinction: and on the tenth, with fifty sail of ships and transports, he arrived at Flushing,† where he was magnificently entertained

* “There are not by report,” says the writer of the ‘Secret Memoirs,’ “two noble women about her Majesty (I speak upon some account of them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by potent ways.”

† This town, which with the castle of Ramilies, and the towns of Terveer in Zealand, and the Brille in the province of Holland, had been delivered to Elizabeth, as a security for the repayment of her expenses were hence stiled in history, ‘The Cautionary Towns.’

by Sir Philip Sidney his nephew, governor of the town for her Majesty; by Grave Maurice, second son to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange (then recently deceased); by the magistracy of the city; and by the Queen's ambassador.

The same splendid reception accompanied him on his whole progress to the Hague. At the Hague the States, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, conferred upon him the highest honour which their republic could bestow: they made him Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, assigned him a guard as they had been accustomed to do to the Prince of Orange, and permitted him to keep a court, whither they repaired to pay their compliments, as to a sovereign.

But unfortunately for their project, the Queen had given him a strict charge, previously to his departure, not to exceed his commission. She therefore deemed her personal honour injured, rather than complimented, by this prodigality; and thinking the States, who were considerably indebted to her, might have found a better use for their money, than to expend it on triumphal arches and feasts, severely reprimanded them for it in a letter written with her own hand. To Leicester, at the same time, she sent her vice-chamberlain, to check his ambition by personal reproof.

The States returned a submissive answer, excusing what they had done by their anxiety to show her representative every possible token of respect. The Earl likewise so affectingly lamented his hard fate in having disoblighed her, that she not only overlooked his offence, but even acquiesced in his new title. It has indeed been supposed, that her anger upon this

occasion was merely counterfeited, to throw off from herself the odium of assuming the sovereignty of the United Provinces, while she transferred it to her favourite dependent.

Leicester now proceeded to the exercise of his high authority; and having appointed natives of Holland deputies in every province, placed the whole army under such excellent regulations, that the Prince of Parma, the general of the Spanish forces, began to despair of recovering the rebel districts, though he had recently boasted, that 'he should make them an easy conquest.' Several skirmishes ensued, in which the English forces gained the advantage; and their general, in honour of their victories, determined to celebrate the festival of St. George at Utrecht, where he had his head-quarters, with the most ridiculous ostentation. This new proof of his vanity embroiled him afresh with his royal mistress, whose frequent remission of his offences has been always urged by foreign historians as the strongest proof of her criminal attachment.

But the subsequent success of the campaign not answering to the high expectations naturally excited by these first enterprises, the miscarriages were imputed to Leicester's want of military capacity; especially after the failure of the siege of Zutphen, the most important of the towns still remaining in the hands of the enemy. The strength of this place, a fort built upon the river Yssel, the English general so blocked up by batteries, that he compelled the governor to send to the Prince of Parma for succours. The Prince, at the head of a strong detachment, flew to his assistance. At this critical juncture, Leicester unfortunately neglected to remit money to the Count

de Meurs, to pay two thousand German mercenaries, whom that officer had hastily levied for the use of the States. In this temper the enemy's general, learning that the men were on the point of mutiny, surrounded them; upon which some of them threw down their arms, and the rest entered into the Spanish service.

The flower of the English volunteers however being in the field, and among them many persons of high rank (particularly Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Stanley, Sir William Russel, and Sir John Norris) they resolved, notwithstanding this discouragement, to pursue the enterprise, and rather to die for the honour of their country than to raise the siege. With such sentiments, it is not surprising that they performed prodigies of valour; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. Sir Philip Sidney was one of the victims of that fatal day.

The Dutch now openly charged Leicester with want of military skill, if not of personal valour. In return, he entered upon a justification of his proceedings, strove to remove their supposed misconstructions, and at last endeavoured to dissolve the assembly;* but, not being able to effect this, he angrily declared his resolution of immediately returning home. He seems afterward, however, to have recovered his temper; and to have informed the States, that by his journey into England he should be the better enabled to assist them in their affairs, and to provide a remedy for their grievances. When the day of his departure arrived, he publicly surrendered the care of the pro-

* By his affected zeal for Protestantism, and his pretended piety, he had gained the confidence of the lower orders and of the clergy, who from their pulpits inveighed against their magistrates, and extolled the Earl as the champion of the true faith.

vinces into the hands of the Council of State; reserving to himself, at the same time, by an act of restriction, an authority over all governors of provinces, forts, and cities: after which, he set sail for England.

But whatever might be his pretext for leaving the Low-Countries at this conjuncture, his presence in England seems to have been secretly desired by Elizabeth, who wanted him near her person; as the late conspiracies in favour of the Queen of Scots had made a deep impression upon her Majesty, and she now resolved to sacrifice the illustrious criminal to her own safety. The difficulty lay in determining, how this might best be accomplished; and she knew, that she could rely upon Leicester's fidelity. When the matter was brought before the council, his Lordship is said to have advised taking her off by poison; but this atrocious project being vehemently opposed by Secretary Walsingham, it was determined to proceed against her by public trial.*

In the mean time, the affairs of the United Provinces becoming daily more alarming, the governors called together the States-General; who, in order to preserve their country, agreed to invest Prince Maurice with the full power of Stadtholder. Pursuant to this determination, they obliged all the officers to receive a new commission from him, and to take a fresh oath to the States, discharging all recusants from the service.

With these alterations in the government Elizabeth

* For the particulars, and the issue, of this celebrated process, see the Life of Lord Burghley.

was highly displeased, and immediately sent over Lord Buckhurst to inquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations introduced during Leicester's absence, and to settle all differences between them. The States, aware of the influence of that General over the English Queen, assured her in reply, that their proceedings were only provisional, enforced merely through fear of an universal revolt, and that upon his Lordship's return they would readily acknowledge his authority. But, notwithstanding their vehement professions of regard, they privately proceeded to realise the measures which they had adopted for the limitation of his power.

Elizabeth however openly espousing his cause, he again went over to Holland; and, by renewed professions of zeal for the Protestant religion, revived his faction in that country, to the great distress of the States. But they were fortunately relieved by his recall in 1588, when England was alarmed by the expected invasion of the Spanish Armada. At this critical moment, to the astonishment of the whole nation, though Lord Buckhurst adduced accusations against him at the council-board for mal-administration in the Low-Countries, supported by the States (who were exasperated at the loss of Sluys, and the general misfortunes of the campaign in 1587) the Queen interposed; and as a token of her full confidence in his powers, appointed him Lieutenant-General of the army, which had marched to Tilbury to prevent the landing of the Spaniards.*

* This invasion was providentially prevented by a violent storm, which dispersed the Spanish fleet, and by the subsequent

When she reviewed this army, likewise, she bestowed upon him the highest encomiums, in the memorable speech which, in imitation of the celebrated generals of ancient Greece and Rome, she there addressed to her troops :

“ MY LOVING PEOPLE,

“ We have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery ; but, I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear : I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come among you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die among you all : to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too ; and think it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and

defeat of that fleet in an engagement, for the particulars of which see the Lives of the Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and of Sir Francis Drake.

crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you.

“ In the mean time, my Lieutenant-General shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.”

This was the last expedition, in which Leicester was engaged; for retiring soon afterward to his castle at Kenilworth, he was taken ill of a fever upon his journey at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, and died September 4, 1588.

His death, according to some authors, was hastened by poison, administered (it is asserted) by Sir James Crofts, in revenge for some injury done by the Earl to his father. His corpse was removed to Warwick, and magnificently interred in a chapel adjoining to the choir of the collegiate church, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

His character is given, in a few words, by Camden: ‘ He was a most accomplished courtier, free and bountiful to soldiers and students; a cunning time-server, and respecter of his own advantages; of a disposition ready and apt to please; crafty and subtle toward his adversaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doting extremely upon marriage. But, while he preferred power and greatness, which is subject to be envied, before solid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matter to speak reproachfully of him; and, even when he was in his most flourishing condition, spared not disgraceful

to defame him by libels, not without a mixture of some truths.' There is much reason also to believe, that he was well skilled in the diabolical art of poisoning;* which at this æra formed a courtly accomplishment in some of the courts of Europe.

"His engaging person and address," observes Granger, "recommended him to the favour of Queen Elizabeth. † These exterior qualifications, without the aid of any kind of virtue or superiority of abilities, gained him such an ascendant over her, that every instance of his misconduct was overlooked; and he had, even, the art to make his faults the means of rising higher in her favour."

He left only one son, to whom he bequeathed the greatest part of his real estate, by the title of 'his base son Robert,' on account of his having always denied his marriage with Lady Douglas Sheffield, his mother: but the youth, with a view to secure to himself the hereditary honours of his family, in the beginning of the reign of James I. commenced a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court. When he had proceeded however so far as to prove by indubitable evidence his mother's marriage,

* He is even said to have introduced it into England. (Howell's *Letters*, IV. 451.) It is certain, that he often practised it, and actually sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of poisoning the Queen of Scots before her trial.

† "Nothing," this respectable writer adds in a note, "would form a more curious collection of memoirs, than 'Anecdotes of Preferment.' Could the secret history of great men be traced, it would appear, that merit is rarely the first step to advancement. It would much oftener be found to be owing to superficial qualifications, and even vices. The abilities of the generality of mankind unfold themselves by degrees, and the office forms the man. Sir Christopher Hatton owed his preferment to his dancing. Queen Elizabeth, with all her sagacity, could not see the future Lord Chancellor in the fine dancer."

the cause, through the influence of the Dowager-Countess of Leicester (formerly Countess of Essex) was moved into the Star-Chamber, where the King arbitrarily put an end to it, ordering the examinations of the witnesses to be locked up.

This act of injustice determined Sir Robert Dudley, one of the most accomplished* gentlemen of his age, to leave his native country. He, accordingly, obtained a licence to travel for three years; but upon the death of his uncle, the Earl of Warwick, assuming his title abroad against the will of King James, he was ordered home; and not thinking it prudent to comply, his estate was confiscated to the crown.

Upon this reverse of fortune, he retired to Florence where he was kindly received by Cosmo II., Great Duke of Tuscany, and for his eminent services to the manufactures and commerce of that country, in 1620 created by the Emperor a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire, upon which he assumed his grandfather's title as Duke of Northumberland. He died at his country-seat near Florence in 1639, leaving behind him a distinguished character for his skill in philosophy, chemistry, and medicine, and in the means of applying them for the benefit of mankind.

He was, likewise, an author of some repute; and

* The Dudley family, for three descents, had furnished men of great abilities; but this reputed 'base' son, in learning, especially in the useful part of mathematics, surpassed them all. In the last years of Elizabeth, indeed, he had fitted out some vessels, and made some valuable discoveries in navigation: he also took, and destroyed, nine sail of Spanish ships; and he behaved so gallantly at the siege of Calais, that the Queen conferred upon him the honour of knighthood: but he certainly did not receive the encouragement, which he appears to have merited, either in her reign, or in that of her successor.

his principal work, entitled, *Del Arcano del Mare*, &c. printed at Florence in 1630, and again in 1646, in two volumes folio, is highly valuable. His powerful sudorific was long known under the name of, ‘The Earl of Warwick’s Powder.’

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
 SECRETARY OF STATE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

[1536—1590.]

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, descended of an ancient and good family, was born at Chislehurst, about the year 1536. After he had spent some time at King's College, Cambridge, his friends sent him to travel in foreign countries, while he was extremely young; and to this happy circumstance it was owing, that he remained abroad during the administration of Queen Mary, to whose bloody bigotry he might otherwise, for his declared attachment to the reformed religion, have fallen a victim.

A genius for political investigation† directed his

* *AUTHORITIES.* Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*; Lloyd's *State-Worthies*; Melvil's *Memoirs*; and *Biographia Britannica*.

† Lloyd, in his 'State-Worthies,' observes, "His head was so strong, that he could look into the depth of men and business, and dive into the whirlpools of state. Dexterous he was in finding a secret, close in keeping it: much he had got by study, more by travel, which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. His conversation was insinuating and reserved: he saw every man, and none saw him. His spirit was as public as his parts; and it was his first maxim, 'Knowledge is never too dear:' yet as debonnaire, as he was prudent; and, as obliging to the softer predomi-

attention in early life to the study of the forms of government, the manners, and the customs of the different nations of Europe; and of these he acquired such an extensive knowledge, that upon his return to England, in the reign of Elizabeth, his abilities recommended him to Sir William Cecil, by whom he was employed in some of the most important affairs of state. The first of his public functions was an embassy to France, where he resided several years during the heat of the civil wars in that kingdom. In August, 1570, he was sent thither to negotiate a marriage between his royal mistress and the Duke of Alençon, with other matters of the highest consequence; and he continued there till April, 1573, sparing neither pains nor expense to promote to the utmost the Queen's service.* Upon his return to England, he

nant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe; and no less dexterous to work on humour, than to convince reason. He would say, 'he must observe the joints and flexures of affairs;' and so would do more with a story, than others could with an harangue. He always surprised business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and, if he must debate it, he would hear all: and with the advantage of the foregoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion, beyond reply. This Spanish proverb was familiar with him, 'Tell a lie, and find a truth;' and this, 'Speak no more than you may safely retreat from without danger, or fairly go through without opposition.' Some are good only at some affairs in their own acquaintance; Walsingham was ready every where, and could make a party in Rome as well as England. He waited on men's souls with his eye, discerning their secret hearts through their transparent faces."

* "In this negociation," remarks De Wicquefort, "the interest of the Reformed, wherewith he was charged, was a very nice affair; and he had to deal with Charles IX. and his mother, the most suspicious and treacherous of princes: notwithstanding

was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State; and soon afterward, on the promotion of his constant friend and patron Sir William Cecil to the peerage, he received the honour of knighthood. From the death of Sir Thomas Smith indeed, the senior Secretary, which happened in 1577, Sir Francis may be considered as second in the administration of public affairs, and the firm supporter of Burghley's power against that of Leicester and his party.

In that place of trust, he absolutely devoted himself, his life, his time, and his estate to the service of his Queen and country; and to compass his ends, he guided himself by such maxims as these, recorded by Lloyd in his 'State-Worthies': "A habit of secrecy is policy and virtue." To him "men's faces spoke as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts." He would so beset men with questions, and draw them on, and pick it out of them by piece-meals, that they discovered themselves whether they answered, or were silent.—He served himself of the factions at court, as the Queen his mistress did, neither advancing one, nor depressing another: familiar with Cecil, allied to Leicester, and an oracle to Sussex. He could overthrow any matter by undertaking it, and move it so as it must fall. He never broke any

which, he acquitted himself with great honour. To which it can be no exception, that he did not suspect the court of France's perfidiousness: being himself an honest man, he could never imagine that so black a villainy could enter into man's heart, as the Massacre of Paris, executed by order of the despicable Charles IX. From our ambassador's letters it appeared, that his expenses were so immense, very probably in gaining intelligence, that (to use his own words) sometimes he had neither furniture, money, nor credit."

business, yet carried many: he could discourse any matter with them that most opposed; so that they, in opposing it, promoted it. His fetches and compass to his designed speech were things of great patience and use.—So patient was this wise man, that his native place never saw him angry, the university never passionate, and the court never discomposed. Religion was, in his judgement, the interest of his country, and it was the delight of his soul; therefore he maintained it as sincerely as he professed it: it had his head, his heart, and his purse. He laid the great foundation of the Protestant constitution, as to its policy, and the main plot against the Popish as to its ruin.

In this capacity we are told, that he maintained no fewer than fifty-three agents in foreign courts, and eighteen spies; by means of whom he undermined all the plots of the private as well as public enemies of his nation. “He outdid the Jesuits,” says Lloyd, “in their own bow, and over-reached them in their own equivocations and mental reservations; never settling a lie, but warily drawing out and discovering truth.” So good was his intelligence, that he was confessor to most of the Papists before their death, as they had been to their brethren before their treasons.—For two pistoles an order, he had all the private papers of Europe. Bellarmine read his lectures at Rome one month, and Reynolds had them to confute the next. Few letters escaped his hands, whose contents he could read, and not touch the seals. He had the wonderful art of weaving plots, in which busy people were so entangled that they could never escape, but were sometimes spared upon submission, at others hanged for

example. He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the Queen's presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully : his spies waited on some men every hour for three years ; and, lest they could not keep counsel, he despatched them to foreign parts, taking in new servants.*

In 1578 this experienced statesman was sent over to Holland, to assist at the congress held by the Protestant states of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht: and by his political talents and influence materially contributed to the formation of an alliance

* Welwood gives a remarkable instance of Sir Francis' dexterity, in instructing his spies how to get him intelligence of the most secret affairs of princes. "The court of Queen Elizabeth (says he) had reason to have an eye upon the King of Scots, as being next heir to the crown, and who they knew was courted with all possible insinuations into the French interest. In order to fathom King James' intentions, there was one Wigmore sent to Scotland, who pretending to be disobliged in England, fled thither for protection. Sir Francis Walsingham gives him about ten sheets of paper of instructions, all written with his own hand, so distinct and so digested, as a man of far inferior parts to Wigmore could hardly fail to be a master in his trade. In these papers he instructs him, 'how to find out King James' natural temper; his morals, his religion, his opinion of marriage; his inclinations to Queen Elizabeth, to France, to Spain, to the Hollanders, and, in short, to all his neighbours.' He likewise directs him how to behave himself toward the King, 'at table; when a-hunting; upon his receiving good or bad news; at his going to bed; and indeed all the public and private scenes of his life.' In this man Walsingham was not mistaken, for, though there passed a constant correspondence between them, Wigmore lived in the greatest familiarity with King James for nine or ten years together, without the least suspicion of his being a spy."

formed in the beginning of the following year, under the title of 'The Union of Utrecht,' which had been the object of his commission.

Upon his return, he was consulted by the Queen and Cecil on the conditions of the proposed marriage between her Majesty and the Duke of Anjou; and, in 1581, revisited the court of France as ambassador for the third time: but Henry III. rejecting the proposals, the embassy proved unsuccessful.

Upon every occasion indeed, where address and sagacity were requisite, Walsingham was sure to be employed. As soon, therefore, as Elizabeth received intelligence that the young King of Scotland (afterward James I. of England) had made the Earl of Arran his chief confidant, the subtle Englishman was despatched to Edinburgh to endeavour to displace the new favourite; or, if that could not be effected, to form a party at court and in the kingdom against him. The latter object he accomplished, and at the same time obtained for his royal employer by his penetration and discernment the real character of James. He was deceived however, as we are assured by Hume, upon this occasion, entertaining higher ideas of James' talents for public business than they merited. But this does not impeach the judgement of the envoy. At the time of his arrival in Scotland, and during his residence there, he was in a very infirm state of health. In this situation James, who knew his fame as a man of letters, engaged him chiefly in conversations, which tended to display his own scholastic learning; "and Walsingham," says Lloyd, "fitted the humour of the King by passages out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, or Tacitus." In

such literary conferences the young Monarch took great delight, and generally exerted himself with considerable success: so that from his critical knowledge of ancient history, and other branches of science, the accredited spy was apparently warranted to draw a conclusion, that he would not prove so miserably deficient, as he subsequently proved to be, in the application of his knowledge to practice.

In 1586, by his peculiar sagacity he unravelled the whole plot of Babington, and others, against the life of the Queen.

Soon after this, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of the Queen of Scots.

In the course of this process, he was charged by the royal prisoner with having counterfeited her cyphers, and with practising against her life and that of her son.* Upon which, rising from his seat with extreme

* This injurious opinion is grounded upon a joint letter of Sir Francis and Secretary Davison to Sir Amias Poulet, said to be found among Sir Amias' writings; but it is not mentioned when, and by whom; though it is now lodged in the Harleian Library, with Poulet's answer.

' After our hearty commendations, we find, by a speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both (viz. Sir Amias Poulet, and Sir Drue Drury) a lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh for at your hands; in that you have not in all this time (of yourselves, without other provocation) found out some way to shorten the that Queen [so in the MS.], considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live. Wherein, beside a kind of lack of love toward her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground

earnestness, he protested that his heart was free from all malice against her, and called God to witness, that in his private character he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man, nor in his public capacity

for the satisfaction of your consciences toward God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation toward the world, as the oath of the association, which you have both so solemnly taken and vowed; especially the matter, wherewith she standeth charged, being so clearly and manifestly proved against her: and therefore she taketh it most unkindly, that men, professing that love toward her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her; knowing as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested, that if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent of the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches, lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same of your good judgement; and so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

‘ Your most assured friends,

‘ FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

‘ WILLIAM DAVISON.

‘ *At London, 1st Feb. 1586.*’

Secretary Davison, in a letter of the same date, is said to have this passage: ‘ I pray you, let both this and the inclosed be committed to the fire; which measure shall be likewise met to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her Majesty for her satisfaction.’

In a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the third of February, 1586, we are told there is this postscript: ‘ I entreated you in my last letters to burn both the letters sent unto you, for the arguments’ sake, which by your answer to Mr. Secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me entreat you to make heretics both of the one and the other, as I mean to use yours after her Majesty hath seen it.’ And, in the end of the postscript—‘ I have done with my letters, because they are

any thing unworthy of his station. He owned, indeed, 'that out of his great care for the personal safety of his royal mistress, and the security of her realm, he had curiously endeavoured to search and sift out all plots and designs against both.'* And he added that 'in this view, if Ballard, though an accomplice with Babington, had offered him his service in the discovery of the plot, he would not only have accepted it, but also have rewarded him for it.' Mary seemed to

not fit to be kept, that I may satisfy her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat; and, if you entreat this postscript in the same kind, you shall not err a whit.'

A few animadversions upon these postscripts are necessary. Secretary Davison's capacity makes no very great figure in history: but we are sure it is quite inconsistent with Sir Francis Walsingham's known cautiousness, cunning, or call it what you please, to trust a dangerous letter out of his hands, and stand to the chance of having it burnt, or otherwise destroyed, by those to whom it was sent; when he might as effectually have conveyed his orders or directions by a written message, which should have been brought back to him by the messenger. This latter part is more consistent with his character. However, the most effectual way of determining this point is to examine the pretended original letter, and see whether it is signed by Sir Francis Walsingham's own hand, which is well known, there being so many letters of his extant in different places. It is certain, that Sir Francis was not ready to order the Queen of Scots to be clandestinely destroyed: for when the Earl of Leicester was for taking her off by poison, as above stated, Walsingham protested 'he was so far from consenting that any violence should be done to her, that he had of late crossed Morton's counsel, who advised that she should be sent back into Scotland, and put to death in the very frontiers and borders of both kingdoms.'

* The Queen of Scots' letters were all carried to him by her own servant, whom she trusted, and decyphered to him by one Philips, as they were sealed again by one Gregory; so that neither she, nor her correspondents, ever perceived either the seal defaced, or the letters delayed, to her dying day. "

be satisfied with this vindication of himself, and expressed her concern, that ‘she should have credited idle reports to his disadvantage.’

In 1587, the King of Spain having made vast preparations, which kept all Europe in suspense, as not knowing on what nation the storm would break, Walsingham employed his utmost endeavours to discover this important secret. At last, he received intelligence from Madrid, that the King had informed his council of his having despatched an express to the Supreme Pontiff, acquainting his Holiness with the true design of his preparations, and begging his blessing upon it; which design however, for some particular reasons, he could not disclose to them till the courier’s return. The secret being thus traced to it’s recess, Walsingham, through a Venetian priest retained at Rome as his spy, procured a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the Pope’s cabinet. After this, by his dexterous management he caused the Spanish bills to be protested at Genoa, and thus happily retarded the menaced invasion for an entire year.

This seems to have been the last public transaction, in which he was concerned; and of his private life no interesting anecdotes have been preserved. It remains only to add, that every attempt to promote the trade and navigation of England met at his hands protection and encouragement. By him Hakluyt’s voyages and discoveries in foreign parts, and Gilbert’s settling of Newfoundland, were promoted; and he assisted these adventurers from his private purse. He, likewise, founded a Divinity-Lecture at Oxford, and a Library at King’s College, Cambridge.

Upon his death (which happened April 6, 1590) a remarkable proof was given, how far he had pre-

ferred the public to his own interest; for though, in addition to his post of Secretary of State, he held the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he died so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him by night in St. Paul's Church, lest his body should be arrested for debt! The want of generosity, and even of justice, manifested by Queen Elizabeth, as deducible from this circumstance, reflects no honour upon her character.

By his lady, who was of the family of St. Barbe, he left only one daughter, who (as it has been stated in a former Memoir) was married, successively, to Sir Philip Sidney; to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and to Richard Bourke, Earl of Clanrickarde in Ireland. By the first she had one daughter, married to Roger Earl of Rutland; by the second, a son and two daughters; and by the last, a son and a daughter.

His Negotiations, or State-Papers, were collected by Sir Dudley Digges, Master of the Rolls, and published in folio, in 1655. A work is likewise ascribed to him entitled, *Arcana Aulica*, or 'Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims,' which has been often printed; but it is not probable, that he was its author. Howell, however, in his edition of Sir Robert Cotton's '*Posthuma*,' 1651, has published a small tract under the name of 'Honesty, Ambition, and Fortitude anatomised,' 1590, which he expressly attributes to his pen; and which, being short and not very commonly met with, is subjoined to this Memoir.

'What it is directly that I will write, I know not. For, as my thoughts have never dwelt long upon one thing, and so my mind hath been filled with the

imagination of things of a different nature, so there is a necessity that this offspring of so uncomposed a parent must be mishaped, answerable to the original whence it is derived. Somewhat I am resolved to write, of some virtues, and some vices, and some indifferent things. For knowing that a man's life is a perpetual action, which every moment is under one of these three heads, my imaginations have ever chiefly tended to find out the natures of these things, that I might (as much as my frailty, the inseparable companion of man's nature, would give me leave) wear out this garment of my body, with as little inconvenience to my soul as I could, and play this game of conversation (in which every one, as long as he lives, makes one) with the reputation of a fair gamester, rather than of a cunning one.

Of Honesty.

‘And, first, I will write of Honesty; not in it's general sense (in which it comprehends all moral virtue) but in that particular, in which (according to our phrase) it denominates an honest man. There is required in an honest man, not so much to do every thing he would be done unto, as to forbear any thing that he would not be content to suffer: for the essence of honesty consists in forbearing to do ill; and to do good acts is a proper passion, and no essential part of honesty. As chastity is the honesty of women, so honesty is the chastity of men. Either of them, once impaired, is irrecoverable. For a woman that hath lost her chastity may as easily recover it, as a man that hath once taken liberty of being a knave, can be restored to the title of an honest man. For honesty

doth not consist in the doing of one, or one thousand acts, never so well ; but in spinning on the delicate threads of life, though not exceeding fine, yet free from breaks and strains. We do not call him an honest man, but a worthy man, that doth brave eminent acts : but we give him the title of an honest man, of whom no man can truly report any ill.

‘ The most eminent part of honesty is truth, not in words (though that be necessarily required) but in the course of his life : in his profession of friendship ; in his promise of rewards and benefits to those, that depend upon him ; and gratefully acknowledging those good turns, that he receives from any man. The greatest opposite to honesty is falsehood ; and, as that is commonly waited upon with cunning and dissimulation, so is honesty with discretion and assurance.

‘ It is true, that custom makes some apparently false : some through impudence, and too much use ; and other some for want of discretion, which if they had had, should have been employed in covering it. And there be some, in whom (though it be impossible, honesty should be a fault in society) their indiscreet managing of it makes it holden for a thing that’s merely a vice, a wonderful troublesome companion. An honest man is as near an aptitude to become a friend, as gold is to become coin : he will melt with good offices well done, and will easily take the stamp of friendship ; and having once taken it, though it may be bended and bruised, yet still will keep his stamp clean without rust or canker, and is not ashamed to be enclosed in it, but is contented to have all his glory seen through it only. ‘

‘ It is of itself a competent estate of virtue, able to supply all necessary parts of it to a man’s own pa-

ticular; and a man that is born to it, may raise himself to an eminency in all virtues, though of itself it will not furnish a man with the abilities of doing a glorious thing. It is a pity, that honesty should be abstracted from the lustre of all other virtues. But if there be such an honesty, the fittest seat for it is the country, where there will be little need of any greater ability, and it will be least subject to corruption. And therefore, since it is the foundation upon which a man may build that part of his life which respects conversation, he that builds upon it (let his actions be never so mean) shall be sure of a good, though not of a great, reputation: whereas letting it perish, let the rest of the building of his life be never so eminent, it will serve but to make the ruin of his good name more notorious.

Of Ambition.

‘ Love, honour, and praise are the greatest blessings of this world: all other contents reflect, primarily, upon the body; and please the soul, only because they please some one or more senses. But those therefore only delight the senses, because the soul by discourse was first pleased with them. For, in itself, there is more music in a railing song thrust upon a good air, than in the confused applause of the multitude. But because the soul, by discourse, finds this clamor to be an argument of the estimation, which those that so commend it have of it, it likes itself better, and rejoiceth the more in itself, because it sees other men value it. For there are two ways of proving: the one by reason, and the other by witness; but the more excellent proof is that of reason.

For he that can by reason prove any thing to me makes his knowledge mine, because by the same reason I am able to prove it to another : but if twenty men should swear to me they saw such a thing, which before I did not believe, it is true I should alter my opinion, not because there appeared any greater likelihood of the thing, but because it was unlikely that so many men should lie; and if I should go about to make others of the same opinion, I could not do it by telling them I knew it, or I saw it; but all I could say were, I did believe, because such and such men told me they saw it. So in the comfort a man takes of himself (which grows out of the consideration of how much itself deserves to be beloved) a virtuous wise fellow will take enough comfort and joy in himself, though by misfortune he is troubled to carry about with him the world's ill opinion, by discoursing that he is free from those slanders that are laid upon him, and that he hath those sufficiencies and virtues which others deny. And on the contrary side, he without deserving it (having the good fortune to be esteemed and honoured) will easily be drawn to have a good opinion of himself; as, out of modesty, submitting his own reason to the testimony of many witnesses.

‘Ambition in itself is no fault, but the most natural commendation of the soul, as beauty is of the body. It is in men, as beauty is in women. For as to be naturally exceedingly handsome is the greatest commendation of the sex, and that for which they most desire to be commended; so that ambition, by which men desire honour the natural way (which consists in doing honourable and good acts) is the root of the most perfect commendation, that a moral

man is capable of. Those only offend in their ambition, who out of the earthliness of their minds dare not aspire to that true honour, which is the estimation of a man, being as it were the temple wherein virtue is enshrined; and therefore settle their minds only upon attaining titles and power, which at the first were, or at least should be, the mark whereby to distinguish men according to the rate of their virtues and sufficiencies. It is true, that power is a brave addition to a worthy man: but a fool or a knave, that is powerful, hath (according to the degree of his power) just that advantage of a virtuous prudent man, that Adam before he fell had of the angels, an ability to do more ill.

‘As for titles (which at first were the marks of power, and the rewards of virtue) they are now, according to their name, but like titles of books, which for the most part the more glorious things they promise, let a man narrowly peruse them over, the less substance he shall find in them; and the wooden lord is like the log, that Jupiter gave the frogs to be their king: it makes a great noise, it prepares an expectation of great matters, but when they once perceived it unactive, and senselessly lying still, the wiser sort of frogs began to despise it, and (in fine) every young frogling presumed to leap up and down upon it.

‘Some few there are, who (lest the species of our ancient worthy lords should be lost) do preserve in themselves the will and desire, since they want the means, to do brave and worthy acts. And therefore I say, let a man by doing worthy acts deserve honour; and though he do not attain it, yet he is much a happier man than he that gets it without desert.

For such a man is before hand with reputation ; and the world still owes him that honour, which his deserts cry for, and it hath not paid. Whereas that man, that hath a great reputation without deserving it, is behind hand with the world ; and his honour is but lent, not paid : and when the world comes to take account of it's applause, and finds his title of merit (by which he pretends to it) weak and broken, it will recall it's approbation, and leave him by so much the more a notorious bankrupt in his good name, by how much the estimation of his wealth that way was the greater.

Of Fortitude.

‘ For a man to be completely happy, there is required the perfection of all moral virtues, and yet this is not enough. For virtues do rather banish misfortune, and but show us joy, than establish felicity : which is not only an utter alienation from all affliction, but an absolute fulness of joy. And since the soul of man is infinitely more excellent than every thing else it can meet withal in this world, nothing upon earth can satisfy it, but in the enjoying of the greatest abundance of all the delights, that the most nimble-witted man can frame to himself ; for that his soul will still have a farther desire, as unsatisfied with that it enjoys. Therefore, the perfection of happiness consists in the love of God, which is only able to fill up all the corners of the soul with the most perfect joy ; and consequently to fix all it's desires upon those celestial joys that shall never be taken from it. But this, as it cannot be obtained by discourse, but by unfeigned prayer and

the assistance and illumination of God's grace, so it is not my purpose to prick at it. And for that part of felicity which is attained to by moral virtue, I find that every virtue gives a man perfection in some kind, and a degree of felicity too: viz. Honesty, gives a man a good report; Justice, estimation and authority; Prudence, respect and confidence; Courtesy and Liberality, affection and a kind of dominion over other men; Temperance, health; Fortitude, a quiet mind not to be moved by any adversity, and a confidence not to be circumvented by any danger. So that all other Virtues give a man but an outward happiness, as receiving their reward from others; only Temperance doth pretend to make the body a stranger to pain, both in taking from it the occasion of diseases, and making the outward inconveniences of want, as hunger and cold, if not delightful, at least sufferable.'

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.*

[1545—1596.]

THIS celebrated navigator was the son of Edmund Drake a mariner,† and was born at a village near Tavistock in Devonshire, in the year 1545. He was the eldest of twelve brothers; and the father being encumbered by so large a family, Captain Hawkins, his mother's relation, kindly took him under his patronage, and gave him an education suitable to the sea-service. By his interest Drake was, at the age of eighteen, appointed purser of a ship trading to the Bay of Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea: and at twenty-two, became Captain of the *Judith*; and in that capacity visited the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulf of Mexico, where he behaved with great gallantry in the glorious action‡

* **AUTHORITIES.** Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*; Johnson's *Life of Drake*; *Biographia Britannica*; and Rapin's *History of England*.

† "A clergyman," says Johnson, "who being inclined to the doctrine of the Protestants, at that time much opposed by Henry VIII., was obliged to fly from his place of residence into Kent for refuge from the persecution raised against him, and those of the same opinion, by the law of the Six Articles."

‡ The Viceroy of Mexico, contrary to his stipulation with Hawkins, and in violation of the peace between Spain and Eng-

under Sir John Hawkins; but he, unfortunately, lost in it the little property, which he had acquired in his former station. From the early life of Drake, indeed, two maxims are strikingly deducible; that ‘the first step to greatness is to be honest,’ and that ‘diligence in employments of less consequence is the most successful introduction to loftier enterprises.’

Soon afterward, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the King of Spain. This, according to some, was suggested to him by the chaplain of the ship: and, indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, says Dr. Campbell, “that the subjects of the King of Spain had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return:” a doctrine which, however roughly preached, was very captivating to English ears; and, therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not justified by similar pretexts.

In 1570, he made his first voyage with two ships, the Dragon and the Swan; and, the year following, in the Swan alone. In these two expeditions, he obviously had two points in view: one, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies; and the other, to convince his countrymen, that notwithstanding what had happened to Hawkins in his last voyage, it was perfectly

land, attacked that navigator without any declaration of hostilities, and obliged him after an obstinate resistance to retire with the loss of four ships, and a great number of his men, who were either destroyed or carried into slavery.” (Johnson.) See also the Life of Hawkins. Nor could Drake, who had adventured almost the whole of his fortune in this expedition, either by his own private interest, or by obtaining letters from Elizabeth, procure any redress.

practicable to visit those parts with safety.* In this he so completely succeeded, that upon his second return he found it no difficult matter to equip an armament adequate to the achievement of what he had long meditated.

Without loss of time therefore, having concerted a more important design, in March, 1572, he sailed from Plymouth, in the *Pascha* of seventy tons accompanied by his brother, John† Drake, in the *Swan* of twenty-five tons, and a force in the aggregate not exceeding seventy-three men and boys. With this small armament, in July, 1573, he attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, and took it in a few hours by storm: but he made little advantage of this conquest, from the cowardice of those of his party who had been ordered to guard his pinnaces, while the rest were taking possession of the immense wealth contained in the royal treasury.‡ These mistook the flying enemy for large detachments, advancing to overpower them, and to cut off their communication with their ships. Drake, indeed, despatched his brother to undeceive them; but nearly at the same moment he himself fainted with loss of blood from a dangerous wound received in his leg during

* Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies: when the former, finding it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, set part of them, with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and few of these returning, the terror of their captivity disheartened the English seamen.

† Another brother, Joseph, is said also to have partaken in this expedition.

‡ In one room, they saw bars of silver piled up against the wall; each bar, as nearly as they could guess, weighing from thirty to forty-five pounds, and the pile measuring seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height.

the assault, which he had till then carefully concealed. And though, upon recovering from his swoon, he insisted that they should make themselves masters of the treasure; the major part of his followers, apprehensive for their own safety, partly by entreaties and partly by force carried him off, and immediately set sail for their ships; “abandoning the richest spoil,” says Lediard, “that ever raised the expectations of such adventurers, amounting (as they were subsequently informed) to three hundred and sixty tons of silver, beside several iron chests of gold of still greater value.”

His next attempt was, under the guidance of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes,* to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios: but in this also, through the impatience of one of his followers, who by prematurely rising up out of the ambuscade gave the alarm to the Spaniards, he failed of success. On rejoining his ships, however, his good or ill success never prevailing over his piety, he celebrated their meeting with thanks to God. In these and his other enterprises upon that coast, Drake was greatly assisted by the Symerons. To a prince or captain of this tribe, whose name was Pedro, he presented a fine cutlass, which he perceived the Indian admired. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold; but he threw it into the com-

* These, having escaped in great numbers from the tyranny of their masters, had settled themselves under two kings, or leaders, on each side of the way between Nombre de Dios and Panama; and not only asserted their natural right to liberty and independence, but endeavoured to revenge the cruelties, which they had suffered.

mon stock, saying 'he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage upon his credit, should share all the advantages which that voyage produced.' Equally superior to avarice and to fear, through whatever danger he might go in quest of gold, he thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by artifice or dishonesty. Then embarking his men, with a very considerable booty, he bore away for England, and arrived at Plymouth in August, 1573. His success in this expedition, combined with his generous behaviour to his owners, gained him signal reputation.

In 1575, disliking an inactive life, he fitted out three frigates at his own expense, and sailed with them to Ireland; where, as volunteer under Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, he conducted himself so highly to that nobleman's approbation, that he recommended him to Sir Christopher Hatton, in a letter written but a short time before his death. This introduced him in 1576 to her Majesty, who thenceforward took him under her own immediate protection. Thus countenanced at court, he was enabled to undertake the expedition, which has consigned his name to immortality.

The first thing which he proposed was a voyage into the South-Seas, hitherto unattempted by any Englishman, through the Streights of Magellan. The small fleet, with which he sailed on this extraordinary enterprise, consisted of the following ships: the *Pelican*, of 100 tons, commanded by himself; the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, of 80 tons, Captain Winter; the *Marygold*, a bark of 50 tons, Captain Thomas; the *Swan*, a fly-boat of 30 tons, Captain Chester; and the *Chris-*

topher, a pinnacle of 15 tons, Captain Moon. The whole number of hands embarked amounted only to one hundred and sixty-four able men.

With this inconsiderable armament in November, 1577, he set sail from Plymouth: and in the May ensuing entered the port of St. Julian, where having continued about two months in order to make the necessary preparations for passing the Streights with safety, he suddenly called a court-martial in a desert island lying in the bay, and opened his commission; by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, delivered to him with this remarkable expression from her own mouth: "We do account that he, Drake, who strikes at thee, does strike at us." He then eloquently explained the reason of his having assembled them (for, though his education had been slender, he was an excellent speaker) and proceeded to charge Mr. John Doughty, who had been second in command during the whole voyage, with having plotted first to murder him, and next to ruin the enterprise. "I had," said he, "the first notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England; but I was in hopes, that my behaviour to him would have extinguished such dispositions, if there had been any truth in the information." He next exposed his practices during the period, when he himself was behaving toward him with all the kindness and cordiality of a brother; and supported his charge by producing papers under his own hand, upon which the criminal made a full and free confession. After this, Drake quitted his place, telling the assembly, that 'he expected from their mouths a verdict; as he would not be a judge in his own cause.'

Camden says, he was tried by a jury. The accounts affirm, that the whole forty persons, of which the court consisted, adjudged him to death, and gave their sentence in writing under their hands and seals leaving the time and manner of it to the General. Upon this, Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, offered the convict his choice of three things : to be beheaded on the island, where they then were ; to be set on shore on the main land ; or to be sent home to abide the justice of his country. After being indulged with a day for deliberation, he made the first his choice ; received the sacrament subsequently with the General, and having dined cheerfully with the officers, of whom he severally took leave as if he had been going a journey, walked very composedly to the place prepared for his execution, and submitted to his fate with the most philosophical fortitude, in July, 1578.*

* This is the most authentic account of his catastrophe ; but as it was well known that Leicester bore a mortal hatred to Doughty, for having accused him of poisoning the Earl of Essex, it was credited by many at the time, and has been recorded by some historians, that Drake had secret orders to take him off, on some pretence or other ; and that, jealous of his rising fame (as he was both a skilful mariner, and a man of great courage and conduct) he too readily consented to execute this bloody commission. This imputation, however, is not supported by any satisfactory evidence ; and therefore it is but fair to try the accusation, as in every other case of the same kind, by the general character of the accused. On this equitable system, Drake must stand acquitted.

This island had been the scene of another tragedy of the same kind fifty-eight years before, when Magellan caused John de Carthagena, who was joined in commission with him by the King of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence ; and hence it was called, the island of ‘ True Justice.’

After a difficult navigation through the Streights of Magellan, Drake found himself in September in the Great South-Sea. Here he met with such tempestuous weather for fifty-two days with little or no intermission, that he was forced back to the westward nearly a hundred leagues, and lost two of his vessels, the *Marygold* and the *Elizabeth*.*

He had now only his own ship, which he had new-named the '*Hind*.' With this he arrived at Macao in November, 1578; and thence sailing along the coasts of Chili and Peru, he grievously annoyed the Spaniards, taking and destroying several ships (particularly in the harbour of Lima) and frequently landing to seize rich booties, till his crew were satiated with plunder: when he boldly attempted to find a passage by North-America, but there encountering, N. lat. 42°, severe cold, and open shores covered with snow, he returned back to 38°, and in a harbour in the northern part of California was idolatrously † received by the Indian inhabitants, who in their enthusiasm offered to make him their king.

* The latter returned through the Streights, and arrived safe in England in June, 1579, being the first ship that ever made that passage homeward. Drake had, previously, turned the *Swan* and the *Christopher* adrift.

† "Their cruel rites and mistaken honours," says Johnson, "were by no means agreeable to Drake, whose predominant sentiments were notions of piety: and therefore, not to make that criminal in himself by his concurrence, which perhaps ignorance might make guiltless in them, he ordered his whole company to fall upon their knees; and with their eyes lifted up to heaven, that the savages might observe that their worship was addressed to a Being residing there, they all joined in praying that this harmless and deluded people might be brought to the knowledge of the true religion, and the doctrines of our Blessed Saviour."

To this country Drake gave the name of 'New Albion;' and erecting a stone-pillar, he inscribed upon it the name, stile, and titles of Queen Elizabeth, denoting his having taken possession of the country for his Sovereign, to which he added his own name, and the date of this transaction. Some of the Queen's coins, likewise, were deposited under it's base; after which, having careened his ship, he set sail for the Molucca islands. By this passage he chose to return, rather than by the Streights of Magellan; partly from the fear of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateness of the season, and the risk of hurricanes.

In 1579, Drake fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with throughout his whole voyage. On the fourth of November, he had sight of the Moluccas; and, casting anchor before Ternate, was well received by the king of the island. In making Celebes in December, his ship struck upon a rock, from which, after throwing overboard eight of her guns and some valuable merchandise, she was got off with the utmost difficulty. Then touching at Java, after many civilities from one of it's chieftains he continued his course to the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived safe at Plymouth about the close of the year 1580; having, to the great admiration of his contemporaries, circumnavigated the globe in less than three years.*

* They found, to their surprise (being indifferent astronomers) that they had lost a day in their account of time, it being Sunday by their journals, and Monday by the general computation. Drake was the first commander-in-chief, who had achieved this enterprise; as Magellan died during his voyage, and his ship was brought round by his successor Cano.

His success in this voyage, and the immense treasure which he brought home with him, became the general topic of conversation; some loudly commending, and others as loudly censuring him. In the following spring, however, her Majesty decisively sanctioned the opinion of the former, by going on board his ship at Deptford, and conferring upon him the honour of knighthood. She also gave directions for the preservation of the vessel, that it might remain a monument in honour of himself and his country.*

In 1585 Sir Francis, now Admiral, Drake was sent upon an expedition against the Spanish West-India settlements, with a fleet of twenty-one sail, having on board two thousand land-forces under the command of Christopher Carlisle. Making the Cape de Verd Islands in his way, he landed at St. Jago, and carried off a considerable booty. Thence he proceeded to Hispaniola, and took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; by which he surpassed the most sanguine hopes of his warmest admirers. Yet the profits of this voyage were very inconsiderable, his instructions being rather to weaken the enemy, than to take prizes.

Two years afterward, he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail; and receiving intelligence of a

* This celebrated vessel, after having been for many years viewed with wonder at Deptford, was at length through mere decay broken up, and a chair made out of it's planks was presented to the University of Oxford, where it is still preserved. In the applause, bestowed upon this occasion by the Sovereign, the nation readily concurred! The fame of Drake became a favourite theme; and verses were written to celebrate the ship, which

“ Had match'd in race the chariot of the sun.”

large equipment in the bay of Cadiz destined to form part of the Spanish Armada, bravely entered that port, and burned upward of ten thousand tons of shipping. He next sailed to Tercera, having advice of a rich Caracca vessel expected at that island from the East-Indies; and, though his men were in great want of provisions, he prevailed upon them to endure their hardships for a few days, within which period the announced ship arriving, he carried her home in triumph. Upon this occasion he boasted, in seaman-like language, that 'he had burnt the King of Spain's beard.' The capture, indeed, was of singular importance; for, beside the value of the treasure on board (estimated at 200,000 crowns) it gave the English merchants the first idea of the wealth of the East, and was the occasion of establishing the original East-India Company.

The general applause bestowed upon him on his return was heightened into grateful admiration, when his countrymen observed the laudable use which he made of the plunder thus acquired from the enemies of his country. In 1588, he undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which it had previously been much distressed: and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at a direct distance of eight, or as measured in the actual position of the pipes, of twenty miles.

This year also, he was appointed Vice-Admiral under Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England (thus affording a proof, that no obscurity of birth, or meanness of fortune, is insurmountable to bravery and diligence) and signalised himself in the engagements with the Spanish Armada.

In one of these, he took a large galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who at the bare mention of the name of Drake surrendered himself without striking a blow; and, after remaining above two years a prisoner in England, paid his captor for himself and his two inferior officers a ransom of 3,500*l*. In his ship were found upward of 50,000 ducats, which the English hero generously distributed among his sailors and soldiers. It must be owned, however, that through an oversight of his, Lord Howard incurred a great hazard of being taken by the enemy: for Drake, who had been appointed to carry lights in his ship for the direction of the English, in his pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hans Towns, neglected it. This betraying the Admiral into following the Spanish lights, in the morning he found himself in the centre of the enemy's fleet.* But by his succeeding services he sufficiently atoned for this error.

In 1589, Drake was appointed Admiral of the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio, King of Portugal, and the command of the land-forces was given to Sir John Norris. But they were scarcely at sea, before the commanders disagreed, as to the point where they should effect a landing; and their dissension occasioned the miscarriage of the whole enterprise.

The war with Spain still continuing in 1595, and it being evident that nothing distressed the enemy so much as the losses which they suffered in the West-Indies, an offer was made to the Queen by Hawkins

* Of this boasted Armada, and its defeat, a more copious account will be found in the Life of the Lord High Admiral Howard.

and Drake to set on foot a more effectual expedition to those parts than had hitherto been attempted : at the same time, they agreed to bear a considerable part of the expense, and to engage their friends to assist them in the equipment. Elizabeth readily listened to this proposal, and furnished a strong armament, consisting of twenty-seven ships and barks, with a land-force of 2,500 men under the command of General Baskerville. This fleet was detained for some time from it's object by the arts of the Spaniards, who, upon receiving intelligence of it's strength and destination, announced that they were themselves about to invade England ; and, to render this the more probable, actually sent four galleys to make a descent on the coast of Cornwall. And when at last it set sail, a second difference of opinion took place among the commanders ; Drake and Baskerville determining, against the judgement of Hawkins, to attack the chief of the Canary islands, instead of proceeding direct to Porto Rico, where the richest of the galleons lay at anchor. The failure proved that Hawkins was right ; but his chagrin at their misconduct cost him his life.

The day after his death Sir Francis, in pursuance of a resolution taken by a council of war, made a desperate assault on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico : but, meeting with a stronger resistance than had been expected, he was obliged to sheer off.

Other disappointments and disasters having occurred in the course of the expedition, Drake fell into a deep melancholy, when a bloody flux, the natural disease of the country, in 1596 put a period to his life. His body was thrown into the sea in a leaden coffin, with

all the pomp of naval obsequies, very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. His death, lamented by the whole nation, was more especially bewailed by his fellow-townsmen, who justly loved him from the circumstances of his private life. He had been elected burgess for Bosciney in Cornwall, in the parliament held 27 Elizabeth, and subsequently for Plymouth, in the thirty-fifth of the same reign.

In his stature he was low, but well-set, with a broad open chest, a very round head, hair of a fine brown, beard full and comely, eyes large and clear, a fair complexion, and a fresh, cheerful, and engaging countenance. As navigation had been his whole study, he was a perfect master of every branch of it, especially of astronomy, and its application to the nautical art. His enemies alleged that he was vain, confident, and loquacious. But it is acknowledged, that he spoke with much gracefulness, propriety, and eloquence: he appears always to have encouraged, and preferred, merit wherever he found it: and his voyage round the world will remain an incontestable proof of his capacity and public spirit. And if he amassed a large fortune by continually exposing himself to labours and perils, which hardly any other person would have undergone for the sake even of the greatest expectations, he was obviously far from being governed by a narrow and selfish feeling. On the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation is indebted to him for many advantages which she at present enjoys in arms, navigation and commerce.

He is represented, also, as having been choleric in his temper, and too accessible to flattery: but to

counterbalance these foibles, he was a liberal commander, and a steady friend; courteous and humane toward those whom the fortune of war threw into his power, just and generous in all his dealings, sober and religious in his general conduct, and in his prosperity invariably affable and easy of access. Without any of the advantages of education, he possessed natural powers, which enabled him to acquit himself with credit upon all public occasions.

He had the felicity to remain invariably a favourite with Queen Elizabeth. She gave him, indeed, a remarkable proof of it in a quarrel, which he had incurred with his countryman Sir Bernard Drake (himself, likewise, a seaman) by assuming his arms. This usurpation, though it cost him a box on the ear from the offended owner, procured for him from his Sovereign a new coat appropriately emblazoned; ‘sable a fess wavy between two pole-stars argent, and for his crest a ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds; over it this motto, *Auxilio Divino*, and underneath *Sic parvis magna*, with a wivern gull (the arms, which caused the quarrel) hung up by the heels in the rigging.’ Her Majesty’s kindness, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for she suffered his favourite brother Thomas, after his decease, to be prosecuted to his great inconvenience for a pretended debt to the crown!

This illustrious man leaving no issue, his landed estate, which was very considerable, descended to his nephew Francis (the son of his brother Thomas*) who

* Thomas and John alone, of the twelve brothers, left issue. Of these, the former accompanied Sir Francis on his last expedition.

was created a Baronet in the reign of James I., and in the beginning of the succeeding reign was elected representative for the county of Devon. His widow Elizabeth (daughter and sole heiress of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe Sydenham, Devonshire) afterward married William Courtenay, Esq. of Powderham Castle in the same county.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.*

[1520—1598.]

THE improvements in navigation made by the Spaniards toward the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, and their visible effects in aggrandising that kingdom, excited in other nations a noble ardour to attempt farther discoveries in the unknown parts of the globe. In this design, no people manifested such a genius for hazardous enterprises as the English. But their zeal and industry being checked by domestic troubles during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, the plans which had been formed for extending the maritime power and commerce of their country could not be carried into execution, with any prospect of success, till the government had acquired a proper degree of strength and stability.

The private adventures of the merchants of Southampton, who had traded to the Brazils as early as 1540, by throwing light upon the nature of the profitable traffic carried on by the Spaniards with the West-Indies and the South-Seas, had laid

* AUTHORITIES. Lediard's *Naval History*; Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*; Baker's *Chronicle*; and Hume's *History of England*.

open the sources of their immense wealth. Their accounts circulated rapidly throughout the west of England, and encouraged numbers to bring up their children to the sea-service, with the hope that some future rupture with Spain might make it the channel to riches and honours. With this view, the study of navigation and cosmography was preferred to all others; and the event justified their expectations: for that district in particular proved an eminent nursery of able mariners, and gave birth to most of those renowned naval officers, whose labours increased the opulence and secured the independence of their country in the reign of Elizabeth. Soon after her accession, the English navy was put upon a respectable footing; not only by building ships in the royal yards, but by encouraging the merchants to speculate in large trading vessels, which could be occasionally employed in the service of the crown. The commanders, in general, were men of bravery, skill, and generosity: as their sailors shared the dangers, so they liberally divided with them the spoils, of war. And the manufactures newly established in England by foreign Protestants, who had fled thither for refuge, furnished valuable commodities for the institution of a beneficial barter with the inhabitants of the new world.

Finally, the bad policy of Spain herself contributed in the highest degree to the establishment of the English in America; for, by her cruelties toward the natives, she had rendered the very name of Spaniard odious in the southern hemisphere. The same bad policy, likewise, plunged her into a war with England; whose merchants and adventurers, combining their private interest with that of the public, under-

took expeditions against the enemy to their signal annoyance, and at once enriched themselves and defended their country.

In these important transactions, Sir John Hawkins bore no inconsiderable share. This gentleman, born in 1520, was the second son of William Hawkins, Esq. who with high reputation as a seaman had acquired a competent fortune by trading to the coast of Brazil.* Young Hawkins, in his youth discovering a strong inclination for the sea, applied himself with great assiduity to the study of navigation; and at a proper age made several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, in the merchants' service. It is likewise supposed, that he visited with his father the coast of Brazil; but this is less certain. In fact, we have no authentic memoirs of his first voyages; but he was undoubtedly employed by Elizabeth in the early part of her reign; and under him most of the admirals, who distinguished themselves during its sequel, were brought up.

It was customary however, in those days, for naval officers of reputation, when they were not actually employed by the crown, to undertake commercial voyages in conjunction with the merchants, for which they obtained permission from the Queen: and some conditional privileges were, generally, annexed to their special licences upon these occasions. The plan of a voyage of this kind was proposed by Captain Hawkins to a set of gentlemen-adventurers in the

* He was the first Englishman, who established a friendly intercourse with the natives; a people represented by the Portuguese as so savage, that no other Europeans would venture to visit them.

spring of the year 1562,* and a small squadron was soon afterward fitted out at their expense for the purpose of procuring slaves on the coast of Guinea, to

* Elizabeth seems, however, on the very commencement of the trade in slaves, to have questioned it's lawfulness: for when Hawkins "returned from his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, whither he had carried slaves, she sent for him, and (as we learn from Hill's '*Naval History*') expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring that 'it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers.' He promised to comply with her injunctions in this respect." (Clarkson's '*History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade*,' I. 40.) We perceive from the text, how he kept his word: and here (says Hill, in his account of Hawkins' second voyage) "began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery; an injustice and barbarity which, so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will some time be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it." That it will not, we may trust under Providence, be ours, is referable (to adopt the words of Mr. Clarkson's Dedication) to that wise and virtuous administration, who during their brief possession of office under the auspices of Mr. Fox secured to themselves the unparalleled and eternal glory of annihilating, as far as their power extended, one of the greatest sources of crimes and sufferings ever recorded in the annals of mankind. Nor should the indefatigable and effective labours of Mr. Wilberforce, and perhaps above all, of Mr. Clarkson himself, be forgotten. His '*History*,' indeed, is one of the most interesting exhibitions of criminal and of virtuous perseverance, as respectively displayed by the abettors and the assailants of the Slave-Trade, which the range of literature has at any time supplied.

Whatever may be now thought of these exploits, however, they appear to have gained Hawkins signal credit in that "age of heroism;" as he bore their badge in the crest of arms granted to him by patent, 'a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord'—a worthy symbol of the humane and honourable traffic, which he had opened to his country!

be bartered at the Spanish West-India islands for silver, sugar, hides, &c. Their whole force consisted of two ships of a hundred, and a bark of forty tons, collectively carrying only one hundred men. With these, having by force or purchase acquired three hundred negroes, he exchanged them at Hispaniola upon very advantageous terms, and returned safe from his barbarous enterprise in September 1563.

The following year he undertook a second voyage, but with greater force; and having reached the island of Margarettta, in the West-Indies, with his living cargo, he was hospitably received by the Alcaide, and supplied with provisions. The governor, however, positively refused to permit him to traffic with the inhabitants; despatching likewise intelligence of his arrival to the governor of St. Domingo, who immediately prohibited every species of commerce with the English fleet. Thus disappointed, Hawkins sailed for the continent, and cruising along the coast, sent a deputation on shore at Burboroata, to request the liberty of trading with the inhabitants. But the solicited permission was so clogged by duties, as to render all contracts necessarily unfavourable to the English. Exasperated at this ill usage, he commissioned a hundred men completely armed to demand better terms, which were immediately granted.

He was, next, employed in convoying the English troops sent to the relief of the French Protestants at Rochelle. On his return from France, while he was lying with his squadron at Catwater waiting farther orders, the Spanish fleet of fifty sail passed by, without paying the usual honours to the English squadron.

Hawkins, therefore, ordered a shot to be fired at the admiral's flag, and this producing no effect, a second; upon which the Spaniards came to, and hauled down their colours. The Admiral then despatched one of his chief officers in a boat, to desire an explanation; when the Captain, through the medium of a subaltern, haughtily directed him to inform his principal, that 'as he had neglected the customary honours, especially with so large a fleet under his command, it gave room to suspect some hostile design, and that in consequence he insisted on his departure in twelve hours, otherwise he should treat him as an enemy.' This gallant behaviour gave rise to a visit from the Spanish Admiral himself, who desired to know, 'if the two crowns were at war?' Captain Hawkins replied, 'No; but that possibly this affront might occasion one, as he was determined to communicate to the Queen by express what had passed.' The Spaniard, at first, pretended not to understand the nature of his offence; but being finally convinced of his error, Hawkins agreed to let the matter rest, and with the first fair wind the delinquent fleet set sail for the coast of Flanders.

In October, 1576, Captain Hawkins embarked on a third trading expedition to the coast of Guinea and the West-Indies, accompanied by five other ships, one of which was commanded by Captain (afterward Admiral) Drake; and having taken on board about five hundred negroes, proceeded to the Spanish settlements. Rio de la Hacha was the first place, where he attempted to trade; but being refused permission, he landed his men, and (probably, by collusion) took possession of the town. after which he

disposed of great part of his cargo : * with the remainder he sailed for Carthagena, and there completed his commercial transactions. Upon his return homeward, stormy weather obliged him to put into the harbour of St. John de Ulloa in the bay of Mexico. The inhabitants, imagining his squadron was part of their own fleet then expected from Spain, readily came on board, and were extremely terrified when they discovered their mistake. But Hawkins entertained them with great civility, and to dispel their fears assured them, that ‘ he wanted nothing except provisions ; ’ neither did he attempt any thing against twelve merchant-ships, then lying richly laden in the port. For his own security, however, he detained two persons of rank as hostages, till the return of an express sent to Mexico with an account of his arrival. The next day, the Spanish fleet appeared, having on board the new viceroy, on his way to his government. In this delicate situation, Hawkins was at a loss how to act : for while he was apprehensive of his Sovereign’s displeasure, if he should prevent their entrance into the harbour, especially as the storms continued with unabating severity ; he at the same time strongly suspected, that some treachery would be practised against him, as soon as their ships were in security. He therefore took the precaution to insist upon such conditions from the viceroy, before he would admit him into the harbour, as were best calculated to guard against latent perfidy ; stipulating that ‘ the English fleet

* It is to be observed, that at this time no open war subsisted between the two nations ; but the English claimed a right of free trade in virtue of treaties with Charles V., which the Spaniards refused to admit.

should be supplied with provisions on paying for them, that hostages for keeping the peace should be given by both parties, and that the island with the cannon on the fortifications should be put into his hands during his stay.' The viceroy, at first, rejected these proposals with disdain; but being told that 'Captain Hawkins considered himself as the representative of the Queen of England, and therefore of a rank equal to his own,' he vouchsafed to negotiate the matter with him in person, and solemnly promised in every particular to fulfil the stipulations.

A conspiracy, however, was at this time forming to attack the English; not less than a thousand men being mustered on shore, and the people of the town having agreed to support the operations of the fleet. Unusual manœuvres were observed on board the Spanish ships; their small arms being shifted from one vessel to another, and their ordnance pointed at the English squadron. A larger number of men than usual, likewise, were seen upon the decks; and this with other circumstances alarming Captain Hawkins, he sent to inquire the meaning of these extraordinary motions: when, in order to carry on the deception, the viceroy assured him, that 'if the inhabitants should attempt any violence against the English, he would give them his protection and assistance.' Hawkins, however, notwithstanding these asseverations, ordered his people to stand upon their defence; and shortly afterward, suspecting that a considerable land-force was concealed in one of the enemy's vessels, he again demanded a categorical answer upon the subject: upon which the viceroy, unable any longer to mask his project, ordered the trumpet to sound, as the signal for falling upon the English fleet.

Hawkins was at dinner, when he heard the trumpet:

and in the same moment Don Augustine de Villa Neuva, a Spaniard whom he had treated with the utmost courtesy, felt in his sleeve for a dagger to assassinate him : but one Chamberlayne, who waited at table, perceived the motion in time to stop his hand. Having secured his treacherous guest, he instantly flew upon deck, and perceiving the Spanish troops boarding one of his ships, exclaimed with ardour, " God and Saint George fall upon these traitors, and rescue the Minion : I trust in God the day shall be ours." Upon which his crew boarded the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and fired a shot into the vice-admiral, which it is imagined passed through the powder-room, as three hundred Spaniards on board were blown up. Another shot set fire to the Spanish Admiral, which continued burning for half an hour. But this dreadful havock was unhappily retaliated upon the English on shore, of whom three only escaped by swimming to their ships. Hawkins, though overpowered, continued the engagement even after the ordnance of the fort had sunk his small vessels, at the peril of his life ; telling his men to ' fear nothing, for God who had preserved him in the midst of the enemies' shot, would also deliver them all from those traitors and villains the Spaniards.' At length, the masts and rigging of his own ship, the Jesus, being so shattered by the artillery of the fort that it was impossible to bring her off, it was resolved to place her as a screen to the Minion till night, and subsequently to abandon her. But soon afterward two Spanish fire-ships bearing down upon the latter, the crew, without waiting for orders, ' hove away from the Jesus with so much precipitation, that it was with extreme difficulty Hawkins was received on board. Of his followers, a few only reached the

Minion, the rest falling victims to the cruelty of the foe.

The Spanish fleet suffered greatly in the action. The admiral and vice-admiral were rendered unfit for service, and four other ships were totally destroyed. Of the English, the *Minion*, crowded with hands from the *Jesus* and some of the other ships, remained at sea, in want of provisions and water for their numerous complement till the eighth of October, 1569, when they entered a creek in the bay of Mexico in search of refreshments. This was near the mouth of the river Tampico, and here upward of a hundred of the crew requested to be put on shore, preferring the doubtful result of barbarian hospitality * to the apparent certainty of perishing by famine before the ship could reach a friendly port.

Captain Hawkins with the remainder of his men, consisting likewise of about one hundred, sailed through the Gulf of Florida about the latter end of October; and after incurring the risk of being seized at a Spanish port, which they were obliged to enter for provisions, got safe to Vigo, where they met with

* These unhappy people endured every species of human misery. A few of them were killed, and others wounded, by the Indians on their march up the country; but when the savages found they were not Spaniards, they treated them kindly, and directed them to the port of Tampico. Here, they divided; and the major part unfortunately marching westward fell into the hand of the governors of different Spanish settlements, by whom they were inhumanly treated and sold to slavery. Some were burnt, and others tortured, as heretics; and out of sixty-five persons, we have no certain account of the return of any to their native country, except that of Job Horn, a gunner of the *Jesus*, who after a long imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition arrived in England in 1590, having endured incredible hardships for twenty three years.

some English ships. From them they received full supplies, and in January, 1570, reached their native shore; Hawkins having suffered greatly in his fortune by the loss of his merchandise, and his companions having saved nothing but their lives.

To indemnify him for his fatigues, Elizabeth promoted him to an office at home, admirably suited to his capacity: he was in 1573 made Treasurer of the Navy. In virtue of this post, which gave him the chief direction of the royal docks, he exerted himself to keep the marine upon a respectable footing; more ships being built and repaired during his exercise of the function, than had ever been known in England within the same period. It was, likewise, part of his duty to take the command of squadrons fitted out for the purpose of clearing the narrow seas of pirates: and this he discharged so effectually, that the merchants returned him their formal thanks for the protection afforded to commercial navigation, in 1575.

From this time to the year 1588, nothing memorable is recorded concerning him, except an accident, which occurred as he was walking in the Strand. A lunatic,* mistaking him for Sir Christopher Hatton, suddenly stabbed him in the back. He recovered, however, to bear a glorious part in the memorable engagement with the Armada; in which, as Rear-Admiral, he chased the flying Spaniards with such success, that the Queen publicly applauded his con-

* This desperate wretch was committed to the Tower, where he killed his keeper with a billet brought to him for firing; and being tried and condemned for the murder, he was executed in the Strand near the place where he had wounded Captain Hawkins.

duct, and conferred upon him the honour of knight-hood.

The war continuing, a grand expedition was meditated to annoy the coasts of Spain, and at the same time to defray the expenses and reward the valour of the enterprise by intercepting the Plate-fleet. An armament of ten ships of the line was fitted out for these purposes, and divided into two squadrons of five sail each, with instructions to act in concert, though each squadron had a separate commander. Upon this occasion, Sir Martin Frobisher* was joined in commission with Sir John Hawkins.

* Sir Martin Frobisher, a native of Yorkshire, had been put apprentice by his parents (who were of low degree) to the master of a coasting-vessel, and was distinguished early in life as an able seaman. He subsequently obtained recommendations to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who with other persons of rank and fortune patronised an enterprise, which Frobisher had long meditated, of discovering a north-west passage to the East-Indies. Being provided with three small vessels at the expense of his patrons, he sailed from Deptford in 1576, and in 61° N. lat. discovered high points of land covered with snow; but he was not able to approach the shore on account of the quantity of ice, and the impossibility of casting anchor from the depth of the water. He gave the title of 'Queen Elizabeth's Foreland,' however, to the eastern promontory of the coast.

In the month of August, he entered the Straits lying to the northward of Cape Farewell and West-Greenland, in 63° N. lat.; these he named 'Frobisher's Straits,' and so they still continue to be called. But his endeavours to open an intercourse with the natives on the coast proved unsuccessful, the Indians seizing his men and his boats; and having either by storms or hostilities lost two of his vessels, he returned to England in the October following. Though the chief object of his voyage however remained unaccomplished, the discovery of the situation of these places proved highly beneficial to later navigators.

Frobisher in two subsequent voyages (in 1577, and 1578) with great perseverance attempted to approach nearer to the North

The King of Spain, gaining early intelligence of the strength and destination of this armament, at first proposed to oppose it with a more formidable fleet; but his council judiciously concluding that Elizabeth, with her powerful navy, would speedily reinforce her two admirals if she found it requisite, advised the sending of expresses overland to India, to order the Plate-fleet to remain in port. Thus circumstanced, the English commanders cruized off the Azores for seven months without taking a single ship. At

Pole; but being the first adventurer, his observations (as it frequently happens) served rather for instructions to his successors, than as monuments of his own reputation. His unpolished manners, indeed, might probably intercept the good fortune, which he had promised himself in these enterprises; for he was extremely rigid in his discipline, and more dreaded than beloved by his followers. With this cast of temper, his success was more signal in military conflicts, than in attempts to traffic, or to establish a friendly communication with the nations he visited. Accordingly, he distinguished himself against the Spanish Armada, and was knighted on the recommendation of the Lord Admiral in 1588.

In 1592, he commanded a squadron of three ships, fitted out at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends, with instructions to watch the arrival of the Plate-fleet on the coast of Spain; upon which occasion he burned one galleon richly laden, and brought home another.

Two years afterward the Queen sent him to assist Henry IV. of France against his rebellious subjects the Leaguers and the Spaniards, who had gained possession of part of Bretagne, and had strongly fortified themselves at Croyzon near Brest. Frobisher with four ships of the line blocked up the port, while Sir John Norris with 3,000 infantry attacked the place by land: which, however, would not have been carried, unless the Admiral had landed his sailors to aid in the assault. In this struggle, Frobisher received a musket-ball in his side, and by the mismanagement of the surgeon the wound proving mortal, he died a few days after his arrival at Plymouth.

last, determined to attempt some signal action, they attacked the island of Fayal : but the governor being well provided with every necessary, they were obliged to retire with some loss, both of men and of reputation ; in consequence of which, on their return home, they were only coolly received by a people, who are seldom struck except with brilliant achievements. The intentions of the court however being in a great measure answered by confining the hostile squadrons to their harbours, and preventing the arrival of the Plate-fleet in Spain, which occasioned bankruptcies among her merchants, they underwent no diminution in the esteem of their Sovereign.

The most arduous enterprise, in which Sir John Hawkins was engaged, proved fatal to him. An armament, under the joint command of himself and Drake, was fitted out in the year 1595 to attack the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies ; and, contrary to his advice, much time was lost in an unsuccessful attack upon the chief of the Canary Islands.* Being the oldest commander, he was not a little chagrined at finding his judgement over-ruled ; and his resentment against his colleagues was increased, when it was discovered, that in consequence of this fruitless attempt, the Spaniards had been enabled to put their chief fortresses in a proper state of defence. At Dominica, likewise, the seamen and the troops wasted a considerable time in taking in provisions, and preparing pinnaces to sail close to the harbour of Porto Rico. In this interval, the Spaniards sent five large frigates well manned to bring off the galleon : these, on their way, fell in with the rear of the divi-

* See the Life of Drake.

sion under Sir John Hawkins, took one of his barks, and having tortured some of it's crew into a confession that the whole English force was bent against Porto Rico, crowded all sail without attempting an engagement, and thus saved the place. Hawkins foreseeing the inevitable consequences of these repeated delays, died of a fever occasioned by chagrin November 21, 1595.

He was one of the ablest and most experienced seamen of his time; and had improved his parts, naturally strong, by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own.* Slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute in deliberation; in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a considerable part of his life at sea, he had too vehement a dislike of land-soldiers. When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt disposition. With great personal courage, and presence of mind, he is said to have been much beloved by his seamen for his affability. He was twice elected burgess for Plymouth, and sat a third time in parliament for some other borough. To him, likewise, was owing the foundation of an hospital at Ghatham for poor and diseased sailors.

His character, however, it is to be lamented, was tarnished by the mean passion of avarice; which apparently, upon several occasions, exercised a pernicious influence over his public conduct. But his abilities in the naval department, both at land and at sea, ex-

* Mr. Pitt, it is said, complained of his great colleague, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, that "he opposed every thing, and proposed nothing."

tenuated his defects. He was no less than forty-eight years engaged in active service, and during nearly half that long period held the treasurership of the navy, for the regulation of which he established many excellent orders; and he was both the author, and the patron, of several useful improvements in the art of navigation. Lastly, in conjunction with his brother William, he contributed to the great increase of sailors by promoting commercial adventure; for they were owners of thirty sail, says Dr. Campbell, of goodly ships.

He likewise bred up his son Richard to the sea, and had the happiness, two years before he died, to see him knighted for his signal services. Sir Richard accompanied him in many of his expeditions, and invariably evinced that he inherited his valour. In the engagement with the Armada, he commanded the *Swallow* frigate, which suffered more than any other ship in the fleet. Two years afterward, under the command of his father and Sir Martin Frobisher, he signalled himself on the coasts of Spain; and in 1593, he fitted out two large vessels at his own expense, to annoy the Spaniards in South-America. He had, likewise, a farther design of sailing round the globe, that he might share the glory of Drake and Cavendish: with this view, in 1594, he passed with only one ship the Straights of Magellan, and cruised along the coasts of Patagonia. In 48° S. lat. he discovered a fair country, situated in a very temperate climate, to particular places of which he gave different names; but the land collectively he called ‘Hawkins’ Maiden Land,’ assigning as a reason, that he had discovered it at his own expense under the auspices of a maiden Queen. Having secured some valu-

able prizes, and bravely disengaged himself in one instance from an attempt made by Don Bertrand de Castro to take him prisoner, under the influence of his father's foible (an inordinate love of money) he loitered in those seas with the hope of still more profitable conquests, till in the end he was captured, after a desperate engagement, in the course of which he received several dangerous wounds. He surrendered indeed upon a promise, that the whole crew should have a free passage to England as soon as possible: but the Spaniards, with their usual perfidy, retained him a prisoner in Spain till the fruitless negociation for peace in 1600; upon which he obtained his release, and passed the remainder of his days in retirement. He left an account of his voyage, up to the time of his capture, which was published after his decease in one volume folio, entitled, 'The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, in his Voyage to the South-Seas.'

EDMUND SPENSER.

[1553—1598.]

EDMUND SPENSER was born about 1553, in London, and educated as a sizar at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B. A. in 1572, and of M. A. in 1576. The accounts of his birth and family* are extremely imperfect, and at his first setting out in life, his fortune and interest seem to have been very inconsiderable. After he had continued some time at college, and made great proficiency in learning, he offered himself as candidate for a fellowship, in which he was unsuccessful. This disappointment, joined with the narrowness of his circumstances, compelled him to quit the University; and we find him subsequently residing at the house of a friend in the North, where he fell in love with the ‘Rosalind,’ of whose cruelty he has composed such pathetic complaints. About this time, indeed, his genius probably began first to distinguish itself; for ‘The Shepherd’s Calendar,’ which is so full of his unprosperous passion,

* That his family, however, was one of the most splendid in modern English history, was asserted by Gibbon, who observes, “the nobility of the Spensers has been illustrated and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough; but I exhort them to consider the ‘Fairy Queen,’ as the most precious jewel of their coronet.”

was among the first of his works of note. This work he addressed, in a short dedication, to Sir Philip Sidney,* who for wit and gallantry was the most popular of all the courtiers of his age; and, excelling as he did in the inventive part of poetry, was naturally struck with the powers of the youthful writer.† The conversation and intimacy of so distinguished a personage prepared the way for his

* To this distinguished man he was introduced by his friend Mr. Gabriel Hervey, of Trinity-Hall, by whose advice he had removed, in 1578, to London. Sidney's generous and elevating friendship speedily made the poet known to the Earl of Leicester; and from Leicester, in 1579, he received an appointment as agent in France, and other parts, though it proved abortive.

† A story is related of him by Hughes, which, though disproved by his late biographer Mr. Todd, may be admitted perhaps in a note. Spenser, it is said, was an entire stranger to Sidney, when he began to write his 'Fairy Queen,' and introduced himself at Leicester-House by sending him a copy of the ninth canto of the first book of that poem. Sidney, surprised by the description of Despair, exhibited an unusual species of transport on the discovery of so new and uncommon a genius. After perusing a few stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bade him 'give the person who brought them fifty pounds;' a sum which, upon reading the next, he ordered to be doubled. The steward, no less surprised than his master, thought it his duty to remonstrate against so sudden and lavish a bounty; but upon reading an additional stanza, Sidney raised the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to 'bestow it immediately, lest as he proceeded he should be tempted to give away his whole estate.' The following are said to be the stanzas, with which this accomplished scholar was first struck:

'From him returning, sad and comfortless,
As on the way together we did fare,
We met that villain (God from him me bless!)
That cursed wight, whom I escaped whilere,
A man of hell that calls himself Despair;

being known, and received, at court. From this promising introduction, however, he did not instantly reap any advantage. He was, indeed, created poet-laureat to Queen Elizabeth, but his accompany-

Who first us greets, and after fair areeds
Of tidings strange and of adventures rare,
So creeping close, as snake in hidden weeds,
Inquireth of our states and of our nightly deeds :

‘ Which when he knew, and felt our feeble hearts
Embossed with bole and bitter biting grief,
Which love had lanced with his deadly darts,
With wounding words and terms of foul reproof ;
He pluck’d from us all hope of due relief,
That erst us held in love of lingering life :
Then hopeless, heartless, ’gan the cunning thief
Persuade us did to stint all farther strife,
To me he lent this rope, to him a rusty knife.’

The following is the Picture of the Cave of Despair :

‘ The darksome cave they enter, where they find
That cursed man low-sitting on the ground,
Musing full sadly in his sullen mind :
His greasy locks, long growing and unbound,
Disorder’d hung about his shoulders round,
And hid his face ; through which his hollow eyne
Look’d deadly dull, and stared as astound ;
His raw-bone cheeks, through penury and pine,
Were shrunk into his jaws, as he did never dine.

‘ His garment nought, but many ragged clouts,
With thorns together pinn’d and patched was,
The which his naked sides he wrapt abouts ;
And him beside there lay upon the grass,
A dreary corse, whose life away did pass,
All wallow’d in his own yet-lukewarm blood.
That from his wound yet well’d afresh, alas !
In which a rusty knife fast fixed stood,
And made an open passage for the gushing flood.

ing pension was only fifty pounds a-year. The Lord-Treasurer Burghley, who considered the mechanic arts as more important than the polite in a rising state, is accused of having in this instance intercepted the annual hundred pounds of her Majesty's favour. And, as misfortunes have the strongest influence on elegant and cultivated minds, it was no wonder that Spenser was much depressed by the coldness of his reception. Accordingly, we find him pouring out his heart in complaints of his undeserved treatment; which, however, would probably have been less afflictive, if his noble patron by his employments abroad had not necessarily been absent from court. To these discouragements Spenser appears to allude, in a poem entitled 'The Ruins of Time,' written after Sidney's death, in the following stanza:

' O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts!
 To see that virtue should despised be,
 Of such as first were raised for virtue's parts;
 And now broad-spreading, like an aged tree,
 Let none shoot up that nigh them planted be:
 O let not those, of whom the muse is scorn'd,
 Alive, or dead, be by the muse adorn'd.'

Burghley afterward, likewise, conceived a dislike against him, for the satire which he apprehended was levelled at himself in 'Mother Hubbard's Tale.'* In

* Even the sighs of a miserable man, Hughes elegantly observes, are sometimes resented as an affront, by him who is the occasion of them. The following story, related by some as a matter of fact commonly reported at that time, reflects heavily upon the character of Burghley: it is discredited, however, by Dr. Birch. It has been said, that upon Spenser's presenting some poems to the Queen, she ordered him a gratuity of a hundred pounds; but the Lord-Treasurer objecting to it, scornfully

this poem, the author has vividly depicted the misfortune of depending on court-favours, in the following beautiful lines :

‘ Full little knowest thou, that hast not tried,
 What hell it is in suing long to bide,
 To lose good days that might be better spent,
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
 To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
 To feed in hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 To have thy Prince’s grace, yet want her peers’,
 To have thy asking, yet wait many years ;
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with care,
 To eat thy heart through comfortless despair ;*
 To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
 To spend, to give, to want—to be undone.’

demanded, “What, all this for a song?” The Queen replied, “Then give him what is reason.” Spenser, having for some time expected in vain his remuneration, took an opportunity of presenting a paper to her Majesty, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of her order by the following lines :

‘ I was promised on a time
 To have reason for my rhyme :
 From that time, unto this season,
 I received nor rhyme nor reason.’

This produced the intended effect : the Queen, after sharply reproving the Treasurer, directed the payment to be instantly made. Mr. Todd, however, has disproved this story too.

* And yet notwithstanding the illiberal opposition of Lord Burghley, whose memory has been devoted to ignominy by every admirer of Spenser, the period during which the poet was condemned to this suffering was not long protracted ; since, after a very few years of the servitude of office, at thirty-three he was rewarded by an ample and independent fortune, of which he was only deprived (twelve years afterward) by a general and national calamity. Few candidates for court-favour with no better pretensions than great literary merit, have been so successful. . That his burial was ordered by the Earl of Essex (as

When Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed Deputy of Ireland, Spenser was recommended to be his Secretary. This settled him in a scene of life very different from what he had formerly known; but that he discharged his employment with skill and capacity, is abundantly proved by his ‘Discourse on the State of Ireland,’ in which occur many most judicious remarks. He was now freed from the difficulties, under which he had hitherto struggled: but his principal being recalled in 1582, Spenser returned with him to England, and seems to have continued there till the untimely death of his first patron, Sir Philip Sidney, in 1586.

His services to the crown, as Secretary to the Lord-Deputy, having been recompensed by a grant from Queen Elizabeth of three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork, out of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, he determined to reside in Ireland. His house was at Kilcolman; and the river Mulla, which he has more than once beautifully introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. About this time, he contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then a captain under Lord Grey. His elegant poem, entitled ‘Colin Clout’s come home again,’ in which that illustrious man is described under the name of the “Shepherd of the Ocean,” is an interesting memorial of this friendship,* which springing from a similarity of taste in the polite

Mr. Todd remarks) may surely be considered as a token of that nobleman’s respect for the poet, without proving that the poet was starved. Of the man, who had thus perished, a distinguished funeral might have seemed almost mockery.

* Through the recommendation of Sir Walter, Queen Elizabeth read all Spenser’s writings.

arts, he has described with a softness and delicacy peculiar to his pen.

In 1594, he fell in love a second time with a merchant's daughter, in which he was more successful than in his first amour. Upon this occasion, he wrote a beautiful epithalamium, which he presented to the lady upon their bridal day.

In 1596 he again visited England, and presented (as it is inferred by Mr. Todd) his 'View of the State of Ireland' to the Queen; a work, which though very short, contains probably the best account extant of the customs, manners, and national character of the Irish of that day.* For this, his only production in prose, Elizabeth deigned to reward him, as he justly deserved: and a letter from her Majesty to the Irish government, dated in September, 1598, has been discovered, recommending him to be appointed Sheriff of Cork. But the rebellion, which broke out in the ensuing month under the Earl of Tyrone, frustrated her generous purpose.

In the mean time he had completed his 'Fairy Queen,' which had been continued at different intervals, and of which he at first published only the first three books. To these were added three more, in a subsequent edition: but the six last books (with the exception of the two cantos on Mutability) were unfortunately lost by his servant, whom he had hastily sent before him to England; when, in the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, he had been plundered and deprived of his estate. This distress forced him back to his native country, where he was plunged into new calamities. He died in King-street, West-

* See the Extracts.

minster, in 1598, and was buried as he desired near Chaucer in Westminster-Abbey. His obsequies were attended by several of his poetical contemporaries, who paid the last honours to his memory. Several copies of verses were thrown into his grave with the pens that wrote them, and his monument was erected at the charge of Robert Devereux, the unfortunate Earl of Essex.*

That we have so few anecdotes of the private life of this great poet, must be a mortification to all lovers of the Muses, as he was one of the ornaments of the age in which he lived. No writer ever found a nearer way to the heart. His verses, indeed, have the peculiar faculty of recommending the author to our friendship, as well as of exciting our admiration. One cannot read him without fancying one's-self transported into Fairy-Land, and there conversing with the graces of

* This is the account, given by the editor of his works, of the death of Spenser; and he is supported in it by the authority of Camden. But, in a work of reputation, we find a different relation delivered upon probable grounds. Drummond of Hawthornden maintained an intimate correspondence with all the contemporary literati who resided in London, particularly Ben Jonson, who even spent some time with him at his house in Scotland. Upon his departure, Drummond, with a view of preserving what had passed between them, wrote down the heads of their conversation; which he published with his Poems and History of the Five Jameses, Kings of Scotland. Among other particulars is the following: "Ben Jonson told me, that Spenser's goods were robbed by the Irish in Desmond's rebellion, his house and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife nearly escaped. that he afterward died in King-street, Dublin, by absolute want of bread; and that he refused twenty pieces sent him by the Earl of Essex, and gave this answer to the person who brought them, 'That he was sure he had no time to spend them.'"

that enchanted region. In elegance of thinking and fertility of imagination, few of our English authors have approached him, and no one was ever able so powerfully to awaken the spirit of poetry in others. From him Cowley owns, that he derived all his inspiration : Thomson, justly esteemed one of our best descriptive poets, used to aver, that he had formed himself upon Spenser's model : how closely indeed he pursued, and how nobly he has imitated him, his ' Castle of Indolence ' affords a satisfactory proof. And by Addison, in his ' Characters of the English Poets ' addressed to Mr. Sacheverell, he is thus characterised :

' Old Spenser next, warm'd with poetic rage,
 In ancient tales amused a barbarous age ;
 An age that yet uncultivate and rude,
 Where'er the poet's fancy led, pursued
 Through pathless fields and unfrequented floods,
 To dens of dragons and enchanted woods.
 But now the mystic tale, that pleased of yore,
 Can charm an understanding age no more :
 The long-spun allegories fulsome grow,
 While the dull moral lies too plain below.
 We view well pleased at distance all the sights
 Of arms, and palfreys, battles, fields, and fights,
 And damsels in distress, and courteous knights. }
 But when we look too near, the shades decay,
 And all the pleasing landscape fades away.'

From different accounts, it appears that he was of an amiable disposition, and an extremely generous nature. Beside the ' Fairy Queen,' and his ' Shepherd's Calendar,' he wrote several other pieces, many of which are lost. Among these, the most considerable were nine comedies, in imitation of the comedies of his favourite Ariosto, inscribed with the names of the

‘Nine Muses.’ The rest, which we find mentioned in his letters and those of his friends, are his ‘Dying Pelican,’ his ‘Pageants,’ ‘Dudleyana,’ ‘The Canticles Paraphrased,’ ‘Ecclesiastes,’ ‘Seven Psalms,’ ‘House of our Lord,’ ‘Sacrifice of a Sinner,’ ‘Purgatory,’ ‘A Seven Nights’ Slumber,’ the ‘Court of Cupid,’ and the ‘Hell of Lovers.’ He composed, likewise, it is said, a treatise in prose, entitled, ‘The English Poet.’ The ‘Epithalamium,’ ‘Thamesis,’ and his ‘Dreams,’* mentioned by himself in one of his letters, are (as Mr. Hughes thinks) still preserved, though under different names.

The extant poems of Spenser will never perish. Though he has unnecessarily introduced into them many obsolete terms, they contain a flow of poetry, an elegance of sentiment, a fund of imagination, and glowing enthusiasm, which will infallibly secure to him the applauses of the remotest posterity. Of his family it is recorded,† that his great grandson, Hugolin Spenser, on the restoration of Charles II., was invested by the Court of Claims with so much of the lands, as could be ascertained to have belonged to his ancestor. There is another remarkable passage, of which, says Hughes, I can give the reader much better assurance: a person came over from Ireland, in King William’s time, to solicit the same affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation as a descendant of Spenser. His name procured him a favourable reception, and Congreve in particular generously recommended him to the favour of the

* It appears, from what is said of the ‘Dreams’ by his friend Hervey, that they were in imitation of Petrarch’s Visions.

† In a few particulars of his Life, prefixed to the last folio edition of his Works.

Earl of Halifax, then at the head of the treasury, by whose means he obtained his suit. This man was somewhat advanced in years, and might be the person before-mentioned, who had possibly recovered only some part of his estate at first, or had been disturbed in the possession of it. He could give no account of the works of his ancestor which are wanting, and which are therefore, in all probability, irrecoverably lost.

It would be an injury to Spenser's memory, to dismiss his Life without a few remarks upon that masterly performance, which has placed him among the foremost of our poets, his 'Fairy Queen.' Sir William Temple, in his 'Essay on Poetry,' observes, "That the religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the texture of all the ancient poetry with an agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their poems; but the true religion was not found to become fictions so well as the false one had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion, than heighten poetry. Spenser endeavoured to supply this with morality, and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high. But his design was poor; and his moral lay so bare, that it lost the effect. It is true, the pill was gilded, but so thin, that the colour and the taste were easily-discovered."

Mr. Thomas Rymer asserts, that Spenser may be reckoned the first of our heroic poets. "He had," says he, "a large spirit, a sharp judgement, and a genius for heroic poetry, perhaps above any that ever wrote since Virgil; but our misfortune is, he wanted

a true idea, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide. Though beside Homer and Virgil he had read Tasso, yet he rather suffered himself to be misled by Ariosto, with whom blindly rambling on marvels and adventures, he makes no conscience of probability: all is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth; in a word, his poem is perfect Fairy-Land."

Dryden, in the splendid dedication of his translation of Juvenal, thus proceeds: "The English have only to boast of Spenser and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures: for there is no uniformity in the design of Spenser; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination or preference. Every one is valiant in his own legend: only we must do him the justice to observe, that magnanimity, which is the character of Prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succours the rest when they are in distress. The original of every knight was then living in the court of Queen Elizabeth, and he attributed to each of them that virtue, which he thought most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to have finished his poem in the remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but it could not have been perfect, because the model was not true. But Prince Arthur, or his chief patron Sir Philip Sidney, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and spirit to accomplish his design."

For the rest, his obsolete language, and ill choice of his stanzas,* are faults but of the second magnitude: for notwithstanding the first, he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice; and, for the last, he is more to be admired, that labouring under such disadvantages, his verses are so numerous, so various, and so harmonious, that only Virgil (whom he has professedly imitated) has surpassed him among the Romans, and only Waller among the English."

Mr. Hughes states, that 'the chief merit of this poem consists in that surprising vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imaginary descriptions, more than we meet with in any modern poem. The author seems to be possessed of a kind of poetical magic; and the figures, which he calls up to our view, rise up so thick upon us, that we are at once pleased and distracted with their inexhaustible variety; so that his faults may, in a manner, be imputed to his excellences. His abundance betrays him into excess; and his judgement is overborne by the torrent of his imagination.

Upon the whole, Mr. Warton seems to have given the most candid criticism on this celebrated poem. "If the 'Fairy Queen' be destitute of that arrangement and æconomy which epic severity requires, yet we scarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us; something which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold

* From the peculiarity of his language and stanza, almost all the imitations of him resemble the original. So likewise, in painting, it is easier to copy the stile of a mannerist, than the simplicity of Raffaëlle or Poussin.

approbation of the head. If there be any poem whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unassisted and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgement, it is this: In reading Spenser, if the critic is not satisfied, yet the reader is transported."

"It is to be regretted," as Granger suggests, "that such vigour of imagination and harmony of numbers should have been lavished upon an endless and uninteresting allegory, abounding with all the whimsies of knight-errantry. It ought at the same time to be remembered, that it was much more interesting in the days of Elizabeth, than it is in the present day. According to Lord Lyttleton, his poem represents that great Queen 'as the patroness of the most sublime chivalry, and as sending forth the moral virtues illustrated under the characters of different knights, &c., and may therefore be deemed a state-poem no less than the *Æneïs* of Virgil.'"

"His personifications," says Mr. Ellis, "protracted into allegory, affect the modern reader, almost as disagreeably as inspiration continued to madness. This, however, was the fault of the age: and all that genius could do for such a subject, has been done by Spenser. His glowing fancy, his unbounded command of language, and his astonishing facility and sweetness of versification have placed him in the very first rank of English poets."

The 'View of the State of Ireland' was called forth by the peculiar circumstances of that country, in the time of the rebellion. The fate of Spenser, in

respect of his possessions in Ireland, was necessarily involved in that of the country ; and he could not be indifferent to the probable effects of the prevalent commotions. In order to obviate these effects, he undertook to sketch and perfect a plan for the reduction of the island, within the short space of two winters. The plan was well contrived, but never carried into execution ; a circumstance, perhaps, to which the rebels were indebted for their subsequent success. In this work, too, Spenser appears a zealous defender of the administration of Lord Grey, who had been represented to Elizabeth as exercising cruelties, which drove the rebels to desperation.

The piece is written in the form of dialogues, between Eudoxus and Irenæus. In the beginning, the author treats at some length of the customs and manners of the inhabitants ; and the regulations and measures, which he afterwards proposes, are judiciously adapted to their national character :

‘ *Iren.* The difference of manners and customs doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you to have been three especially, which seated themselves here : to wit, first, the Scythians ; then, the Gauls ; and, lastly, the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remain divers great families and septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention. * * * * *

‘ I will begin, then, to count their customs in the same order that I counted their nations : and, first, with the Scythian or Scottish manners : of the which there is one use among them, to keep their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the year in *boolics*,

pasturing upon the mountains and waste wild places, and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plain to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Joh. Boëmus, and yet is used among all the Tartarians, and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in 'heards,' as they call them; being the very same as the Irish *boolies* are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding only on their milk and white meats.

'*Eudox.* What fault can you find with this custom? For though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behoveful in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountains, and waste deserts full of grass, that the same should be eaten down, and nourish many thousands of cattle for the good of the whole realm; which cannot (methinks) well be any other way, than by keeping those boolies there as ye have showed.

'*Iren.* But, by this custom of boolying, there grow in the mean time many great enormities unto that commonwealth. For first, if there be any outlaws, or loose people (as they are never without some) which live upon stealths and spoils, they are evermore succoured and find relief only in these boolies; being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come down to the towns to seek relief, where by one means or other they would soon be caught. Besides, such stealths of cattle as they make they bring commonly to those boolies, bring upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in those

boodies, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could in towns; using what manners they list, and practising what mischiefs and villainies they will, either against the government there by their combinations, or against private men, whom they malign by stealing their goods or murdering themselves: for there they think themselves half-exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedom, do, like a steer that hath been long out of his yoke, grudge and repine ever after to come under rule again. * * *

‘ They have another custom from the Scythians, that is, the wearing of mantles, and long *glibbs*, which is a thick curled bush of hair hanging down over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them; which are both very bad and hurtful. * * *

‘ The next [custom] I have to treat of, is the manner of raising the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublesome times of uproar: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, describing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians coming to give the charge at battles; at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible yell, as if heaven and earth would have gone together; which is the very image of the Irish ‘Hubbub,’ which their *kern* use at their first encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth, that they used in battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and sometimes upon their greatest kings deceased, as in that battle of Tomyris and Cyrus: which custom to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For, at their joining of battle, they likewise call upon their captain’s name, or the word of his ancestors. As they under Oneal

cry, *Laundarg-abo*, that is, ‘the Bloody Hand,’ which is Oncal’s badge: they under Obrien call *Laun-laidir*, that is, ‘the Strong Hand.’ And to their example the old English also, which there remaineth, have gotten up their cries Scythian-like, as *Crom-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. And here also lieth open another manifest proof, that the Irish be Scythes or Scots; for in all their encounters, they use one very common word, crying, *Ferragh, Ferragh*; which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first kings of Scotland, called *Fergaus*, or *Fergus*, which fought against the Picts (as you may read in Buchanan, *De Rebus Scoticis*) but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chief captain, under whom they fought against the Africans; the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battles. * * * * *

—‘They use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies, which the Scythians anciently used. As, for example, you may read in Lucian (in that sweet Dialogue, which is entitled *Toxaris*, or ‘Of Friendship’) that the common oath of the Scythians was by the Sword and by Fire; for that they accounted those two especial divine powers, which should work vengeance on the perjurers. So do the Irish at this day, when they go to battle, say certain prayers or charms to their swords; making a cross therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better success in fight. Also, they use commonly to swear by their swords. Also, the Scythians used, when they would bind any solemn vow or combination amongst them, to drink a bowl of blood together, vow-

ing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrel: and even so do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan; and some of the northern Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certain prayers, and use some other superstitious rites, which show that they honour the fire and the light: for all those northern nations, having been used to be annoyed with much cold and darkness, are wont therefore to have the fire and the sun in great veneration: like as, contrariwise, the Moors and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreme heat of the sun, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may, also, read in the same book (in the tale of Arsacomas) that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to join with him in his revenge, to sit in some public place on certain days upon an ox-hide; to which there would resort all such persons as, being disposed to take arms, would enter into his pay, or join with him in his quarrel. And the same you may, likewise, read to have been the ancient manner of the wild Scots, which are indeed the very natural Irish. Moreover, the Scythians used to swear by their King's Hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to swear by their Lord's Hand; and to forswear it, hold more criminal than to swear by God. Also the Scythians said, that they were once a year turned into wolves, and so is it written of the Irish: though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was a disease, called 'Lycanthropia,' so named of the wolf. And yet some of the Irish do use to make the wolf their gossip. The Scythians used also to seeth the flesh in the hide;

and so do the northern Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof, and so do the Irish in the north still. Many such customs I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing (though Christians have wiped out the most part of them) by resemblance whereof, it might plainly appear to you, that the nations are the same; but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I find my speech drawn out to a greater length than I purposed. Thus much only for this time, I hope, shall suffice you, to think that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

* * * *

‘*Eudox.* But have you (I pray you) observed any such customs amongst them, brought likewise from the Spaniards or Gauls, as those from the Scythians? That may, sure, be very material to your first purpose.

‘*Iren.* Some perhaps I have, and who that will by this occasion more diligently mark and compare their customs, shall find many more. But there are fewer remaining of the Gauls or Spaniards, than of the Scythians; by reason that the parts which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the western and southern sea, were sithence visited with strangers and foreign people, repairing thither for traffic, and for fishing, which is very plentiful upon those coasts: for the trade and inter-deal of sea-coast nations one with another worketh more civility and good fashions (as seamen being naturally desirous of new fashions) than among the inland folk, which are seldom seen of foreigners; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you.

And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, show

you one out of their statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall wear his beard, only on his upper lip, shaving all his chin. And this was the ancient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans, to cut off all their beards close, save only their *muschachois*, which they wear long. And the cause of this use was, for that they being bred in a hot country, found much hair on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them; for which cause they did cut it most away: like as, contrarily, all other nations brought up in cold countries do use to nourish their hair, to keep them the warmer; which was the cause that the Scythians and Scots wore glibbs (as I showed you) to keep their heads warm, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I think) came saffron shirts and smocks, which were devised by them in those hot countries, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoiding that evil which cometh by much sweating and long wearing of linen. Also the women amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all household affairs, both at home and abroad (as Boëmus writeth), though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise: and so have the Irish women the trust and care of all things, both at home and in the field. Likewise, round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also, in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. Moreover, the manner of their women's riding on the wrong side of the horse, I mean with their faces toward the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African; for, among them, the women (they say) used so to ride. Also the deep,

smock sleeve, which the Irish women use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary, &c.'

Spenser's works were published in six vols. 12mo. by Mr. Hughes, with an account of his Life and a glossary.* Dr. Birch published an edition of the 'Fairy Queen' in three vols. 4to, 1751. Three more editions of this poem were printed in 1758. In 1734, appeared Dr. Jortin's 'Remarks on Spenser's Poems' in 8vo.; and Warton's 'Observations on the Fairy Queen' were reprinted in 1762. Lastly, an edition of his whole works has recently been given to the public in eight volumes 8vo, by the accurate and laborious Mr. Todd.

* Reprinted in 1750.

WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURGHLEY.*

[1520—1598.]

WILLIAM CECIL was the son of Richard Cecil Esq. of Burghley, in the county of Northampton, Master of the Robes in the reign of Henry VIII., and in great favour with that Monarch. His mother was the daughter and heiress of William Hickington Esq. of Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, at which place he was born in the year 1520.

The first rudiments of his education he received at the grammar-schools of Grantham and Stamford, and as he discovered an ardent thirst for knowledge, his father determined to qualify him for the law. With this view, he sent him to St. John's College, Cambridge, where his close application to his studies, assisted by an uncommon genius, speedily acquired him considerable reputation; but a humour in his legs, the consequence of his very sedentary life, unfortunately laid the foundation of the gout, which afterward pursued him to his grave.

* **AUTHORITIES.** Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*; Collins' *Life of Cecil*; Lloyd's *State-Worthies*; Salmon's *Chronological Historian*; *Biographia Britannica*; and Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*.

In his nineteenth year, having completed his university-education, he was removed to Gray's Inn, London, where his proficiency in the law was unusually rapid. While he was thus laudably employed, an accident, which introduced him to the notice of his Sovereign, diverted his attention in some measure from his intended profession.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Cecil, while on a visit to his father, met in the presence-chamber with two priests, chaplains to O'Neale a celebrated Irish chief, who at that time was negotiating the affairs of his country. With these priests, who were bigoted Papists, he fell into conversation upon theological topics. A warm dispute in Latin ensued, which he managed with so much wit and argument on the part of the Reformed religion, that his antagonists broke from him in a rage. Upon this, his Majesty ordered him into his presence; and, in consequence of the pertinent answers which he gave to several intricate questions, directed his father to find a place for him at court. As there was then no vacancy, however, in that department, the reversion of the Custos Brevium Office in the Common Pleas was conferred upon him.

About this time he married Mary, the sister of Sir John Cheke, by whom he had his first son, Thomas. She died in less than two years from her marriage. Five years afterward, he married Mildred, daughter of Sir Antony Cooke, one of the tutors of Edward VI.

Upon the accession of that prince, he was quickly promoted. By Sir John Cheke's recommendation, the Protector appointed him Master of the Requests, soon after which he succeeded to his reversionary office. These acquisitions, with the for-

tune of his second wife, enabled him to make a distinguished figure among the courtiers.

He subsequently attended the Duke of Somerset in his expedition to Scotland,* and at the battle of Musselburgh had a very narrow escape; being pushed out of the level of a cannon by a generous friend, whose protecting arm was shattered to pieces in the exertion.

In 1548, he rose into great favour with the young King, which Somerset observing, advanced him to the office of Secretary of State. But in the following year, a party being formed against the Protector, Cecil was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner three months. To recompense him for this transient disgrace, his Majesty soon after his release conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and in October, 1551, he was sworn of the Privy Council. So strong, indeed, was his personal influence with his Sovereign, that he was treated with deference even by the haughty Northumberland. In 1552, party-disputes ran high at court; and, though Sir William acted with great caution, yet was he accused by his enemies of having contributed to his patron's ruin. This aspersion, however, is grounded solely on his reply to the Duke, when told by him that 'he was apprehensive of some evil design against him:—' "If you are not in fault," said Cecil, "you may trust to your innocence; if you are, I have nothing to say, but to lament you."

* Upon this expedition, he kept a 'Diary' (afterward published by William Patten, under the title of '*Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ*,' in 1541) which furnished materials for an account of that war. This is probably the reason, why he is classed by Holinshed among the English historians.

In 1553, he undertook the liquidation of the crown-debts; and having proposed ways and means, which were adopted by the Council, he was for this eminent service created Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. The people now began to form high expectations of him; particularly as he countenanced every rational scheme for the encouragement of the national commerce.

At the council-board, he strenuously opposed the resolution for changing the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey; but, though he declined to sign the instrument for that purpose as a Privy Councillor, he witnessed it as the act and deed of the King. Upon his Majesty's demise, however, he refused to draw up the proclamation declaring her title; neither would he, on Northumberland's solicitation, write a letter acknowledging her right, and asserting Mary's illegitimacy. This discretion paved the way to his future advancement. For Mary, soon after her accession, granted him a general pardon; and on choosing her counsellors promised, if he would change his religion, that she would appoint him her Secretary: to which he nobly answered; "He was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the Queen; but, if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majesty would give him leave to choose an everlasting rather than a momentary service: that she had been his so gracious lady, as he would ever serve and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence, as any of her loyal subjects; but hoped she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve at large as a private man, rather than to be her greatest counsellor." Notwithstanding this, how-

ever, she forbore either to listen to his enemies, who were numerous, or to disgrace him ; and in the second year of her reign she sent him to Brussels, with Lord Paget, to bring over Cardinal Pole.

During the remainder of this reign, Cecil continued in a private station, only attending his duty in parliament as knight of the shire for the county of Lincoln ; where, though he frequently opposed the measures of government (particularly, a bill brought in for confiscating the estates of those, who had fled on account of religion) he was held in such respect by the Queen's ministers, especially by Pole, that he was never molested either for his religious or his political sentiments. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, for his tried service to her Majesty he was made Secretary of State and a Privy Councillor ; and was the first sworn of her council at Hatfield, where she resided upon her coming to the crown.

In her first parliament considerable difficulties arising about reforming the national religion, for the better satisfaction of the members a conference on Sir William's suggestion was held at Westminster, by the old and new Bishops and other learned men, upon some questions drawn up principally by himself touching the exercise of the new faith. This produced the form of worship, which has ever since been established in the English church.

His next care was, to remedy the abuses in the currency of the realm. For this purpose he called in all the base money, and ordering a new coinage, placed the gold and silver specie upon an improved footing. With respect to foreign affair, it was his great object to guard against the machinations of the Catholic powers ; and the protection of the Reformed

religion in Scotland he justly thought of the highest consequence to this end. He was one of the Commissioners, who effected the Convention of Leith and the Treaty of Edinburgh, so advantageous to the English interests. As a reward for this service, in 1560, upon the death of Sir Thomas Parry, he was made Master of the Wards; and the same year was sent with Dr. Wotton to Scotland, to negotiate with the Bishop of Valence and the Count de Randan a peace between England, Scotland, and France. This commission they executed successfully, but the French court subsequently refused to ratify it.

Cecil's influence, now, increased daily at the council-board; and assured of the support of Elizabeth, who beside her high opinion of his political abilities, was under considerable obligations to him for having given her intelligence of the motions of her enemies during the preceding reign, he even ventured to oppose himself to the Earl of Leicester. His cautious system indeed of avoiding open hostilities, and carrying on secret negotiations and party intrigues in the neighbouring countries, was upon the whole the most correspondent to the inclinations of his royal mistress; and though Leicester and her other favourites occasionally led her to the adoption of more spirited measures, and thus gained temporary triumphs over Cecil, his influence was upon the whole the most powerful during his entire ministry. His antagonists, however, at first prevailed; and these being in league with the Popish zealots, some of whom Elizabeth had allowed to retain their seats in the council, Cecil was accused of having written or patronised a book, found upon his table, containing scandalous reflexions on the whole body of the nobi-

lity: and upon the failure of this and some other dark intrigues, his adversaries basely plotted against his life, often hiring assassins to take him off.* To their inveterate malice, indeed, he would probably have fallen a victim, if he had not been firmly supported by Russel Earl of Bedford, and Sir Nicholas Bacon.†

* From these he narrowly escaped, at one time by going down the back-stairs, when a ruffian was actually waiting for him at the foot of the great stairs of the palace; and at another, by a want of resolution in the assassin, who being alone with him in his chamber, and grasping a poignard in his hand, was still unable to perpetrate the meditated murder.

† Sir Nicholas Bacon, born in 1510, first distinguished himself in the reign of Henry VIII. by presenting to that prince the plan of a seminary for the education of youth of family, in order to qualify them for the public service; the outlines of which were, that after studying in a college the elements of natural and political law and the institution of government, those who should have distinguished themselves by superior talents and address should be sent abroad under our ambassadors, while others might be retained at home to write the history of our foreign negociations and of domestic national events. Mr. Bacon's highest promotion in the law (for which he had been educated) in the reign of Henry VIII., was the post of Attorney to the Court of Wards, which he held likewise under Edward VI. In the reign of Mary, to avoid the troubles of the times, he resided abroad, and had the honour to correspond privately with the Princess Elizabeth, who upon her accession nominated him one of the eight Protestant Privy Councillors, supplementary to the Old Council, whom for political reasons she did not choose immediately to remove. To this honour she added that of knighthood; and soon afterward Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England, having refused to comply with her Majesty's orders respecting the reformation of religion, the seals were given to Sir Nicholas Bacon, with the title of Lord Keeper.

As he came into office upon the Protestant interest, so he firmly supported all those, who were embarked in the same cause.

The Queen, likewise, began to be jealous of Leicester's towering ambition; and conscious perhaps of her unjustifiable partiality, prudently advanced Cecil in honours and confidence, as a check at once upon her own passions and upon those of her favourite. With this view, she conferred upon him the dignity of a peer, by the title of Baron Burghley; upon which his enemies began to contend, who should be first reconciled to him. He farther, also, recommended himself to her Majesty, by his assiduity in watching all the measures of the Queen of Scotland, whose friends were for the most part the secret enemies of Elizabeth.

This abandoned princess, from the time that she

With this view he favoured the succession of the house of Suffolk, in opposition to the claim of Mary Queen of Scots; and as this succession, in the event of Elizabeth's death without issue, was the principal object of the secret cabals at court, he of course rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Earl of Leicester. But, regardless of menaces or intrigues, he boldly adhered to his friends; and he and Sir William Cecil may be truly said to have been, reciprocally, the deliverers of each other. Bacon performed the first good office to Cecil, as above stated; and when the Queen, under Leicester's influence, had ordered Bacon to confine himself solely to the business of his tribunal, Cecil intercepted the farther progress of her Majesty's displeasure, and restored him to her favour.

Sir Nicholas continued for upward of twenty years to enjoy his office with an unsullied character, and the highest reputation. He had much indeed of the penetration, judgement, eloquence, and professional knowledge of his son, the celebrated Lord Bacon; and, if he fell short of him (as who has not done?) in literary accomplishments, surpassed him in qualities of a far higher consideration, prudence and integrity. About the expiration of that period, he was suddenly taken off by a violent cold, to the great grief of the Queen and the whole nation, in 1579.

was detained prisoner in England, thought every measure warrantable which had a tendency to restore her to her paternal throne, to gratify her personal resentment against her unkind cousin, or to promote the re-establishment of the Romish religion in both kingdoms. Accordingly, conspiracy after conspiracy was set on foot by her friends and agents ; and, at length, the design of marrying the Duke of Norfolk completed her ruin.

This nobleman was the eldest son of Henry Earl of Surrey.* Queen Mary had restored him in blood, and, on the death of his grandfather, he succeeded to the title of Duke of Norfolk. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she made him a Knight of the Garter, and bestowed upon him many other marks of her royal favour : but his ambitious project of succeeding to the English crown being avowed by Leicester, he was taken into custody, and from that moment regarded with a jealous eye. Upon his going over to Cecil's party however, and promising to renounce all intercourse with the Queen of Scots, he was released.

But no tie of honour or of gratitude, could keep him within the bounds of his duty. He renewed his correspondence with Mary, entered into a contract of marriage with her, transmitted money to her friends in Scotland to support her cause, and took such unguarded measures for her release, that Burghley's spies quickly procured sufficient grounds to accuse him of high treason. Upon this, he was a second

* Of whom some account will be found in the Life of his father, Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

time committed to the Tower, and on his trial in January, 1572, upon the fullest evidence found guilty. Yet so greatly was he beloved by his brother-nobles, that the Lord High Steward burst into tears as he pronounced the fatal sentence; and the very peers, who condemned him, by their importunities procured a suspension of his fate for five months. Unfortunately, during this interval, Mary and her friends renewed their attempts to take off Elizabeth. The parliament, therefore, felt themselves compelled to enforce upon her Majesty the expediency of carrying Norfolk's sentence into execution, and of bringing on the trial of Mary. In compliance with their application, the Duke suffered on the second of June, and died greatly regretted by the people.

This execution put an effectual stop to the intrigues of those ambitious adventurers, who had entertained hopes of marrying the Queen of Scots; and some conciliatory measures were resorted to. Elizabeth even treated with her about her enlargement, and despatched Lord Burghley and Sir Thomas Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer (a Privy Councilor, distinguished by his moderation and popularity) to negotiate a reconciliation; but Mary, with a firmness that would have done honour to a better cause, resolving to merit the crown of martyrdom from the Roman Pontiff, peremptorily refused to break off her connexions with the English, Irish, and Scottish Papists, who were continually forming plans to destroy the constitution happily established by her royal cousin in church and state.

Elizabeth, however, though she thought it expedient for her own security to detain her in custody,

showed no inclination to proceed to violent measures against her during the course of the ensuing fifteen years. In fact, she relied so entirely upon the vigilance and policy of Burghley, whom (upon the death of the Marquis of Winchester, in 1572) she had raised to the office of Lord High Treasurer, that she gave herself little or no concern about the captive princess, till such daring attempts were made against her personal safety, that she began to fear she should fall a victim to her moderation. Hence, upon the conviction of Babington, who appeared to have been countenanced by Mary and her party, she was more closely confined, and at length removed to Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire, in order to take her trial; a commission being issued for that purpose in October, 1586.

It is a difficult matter to determine whether Mary was guilty or not, as an accomplice, in any direct attempt against the life of Elizabeth; and charity should incline us, upon this tender point, to believe her own dying words: the whole charge of being privy to Babington's conspiracy* resting principally on the evidences of Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, who had been encouraged by the English ministry to betray her.

It would have evinced more temper indeed, and

* The correspondence between Mary and Babington had been detected by the sagacity of Sir Francis Walsingham: but the bringing of the royal criminal to punishment required a degree of firmness suited to the crisis; and nothing but a consciousness of the rectitude of the measure, his own ascendancy over the Queen, and the popularity which he had acquired by his public and private virtues, could have supported Cecil under the load of censure which fell upon him from all quarters, as the chief cause of Mary's execution.

a sounder discretion, to have proceeded upon the accusations brought against her by her own subjects, particularly with respect to the murder of her second husband Lord Darnley. From the character, however, and number of the Commissioners,* the majority of our chroniclers decide, that she had an impartial trial, and was clearly convicted of conspiring the destruction of the Queen, the realm of England, and the Protestant religion. Thuanus, the celebrated French historian, likewise observes, that even the Popish lords included in the commission found her guilty of the impeachment.

She suffered in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle, February 8, 1587, in the forty-sixth year of her age; and from the noble fortitude with which she encountered death, it may be truly asserted, that 'her last moments did her more honour than all those, by which they had been preceded.'

Apprehensive that Mary's treatment would excite loud clamors against her in all the Popish courts of Europe, Elizabeth ungenerously endeavoured to throw the blame of it upon Davison, one of the Secretaries of State, through whose department the warrants for the execution of criminals passed. She had signed that of Mary without hesitation; but at the same time, as she subsequently avowed, she had charged the Secretary 'not to part with it, nor even to let any person know that it had her signature affixed.' Davison however, from various significant hints dropped by Elizabeth, thought it his duty to inform the Privy Council, that it lay signed in his office;

* Being no fewer than forty-two of the chief persons of the kingdom, including five of the judges.

upon which some of the lords, knowing the Queen had privately censured them for their dilatoriness in the affair, moved that 'orders should be given to Davison to forward it without her Majesty's knowledge to Fotheringay Castle.' This was, of course, followed by the execution of Mary; for which Elizabeth prosecuted Davison, her own immediate agent, in the Star-Chamber, where he was fined 10,000*l.*, and condemned to imprisonment during her royal pleasure! Against this sentence Burghley, convinced that he had acted agreeably to his mistress' wish, remonstrated with great freedom, in a letter to her Majesty which is still extant.

One of the chief objects of the mighty preparations made in Spain in 1587, for the invasion of England, was to replace Mary on the Scottish throne: but by the assiduity and abilities of Cecil, and of his colleagues, the expedition was thwarted for a twelve-month.*

The following year, however, the Spaniards resolved upon ample vengeance; and the spiritual artillery of the Vatican was fulminated in aid of more formidable arms. Excommunications and anathemas, with every other Popish engine of terror, were adopted to shake the allegiance of the English, and to terrify them into defection from their Sovereign. But Burghley had taken advantage of ten years of peace, to put the nation into an admirable posture of defence. The navy had been considerably improved and augmented, and the seamen kept in practice by frequent naval expeditions sent out in quest of discoveries. The army likewise was well-disciplined, and had

* See the Life of Drake.

gained experience by several campaigns in Holland and in Ireland. And so exact was his intelligence in foreign parts, that (to use the words of Lloyd) "he could write to a friend in Ireland, what the King of Spain could do for two years together, and what he could not do."

The defeat of the Armada* having delivered the nation from all apprehensions of a revolution in religion, and the Queen from her personal dangers, universal transport pervaded all orders of people.

But the satisfaction Burghley must have felt upon this fortunate issue of his political measures, was chequered by a stroke of domestic misfortune, which cast a gloom of melancholy over his remaining days. In 1589, he lost his second wife; a lady not less celebrated for her piety and learning,† than for those

* Burghley is said, upon this occasion, to have drawn up all the plans of defence; and his eldest son served on board Lord Howard's fleet.

† Learned herself, she was the constant patroness of learned men. A beautiful copy of the *O Mirificam* Greek Testament of R. Stephens, with the name *Mildreda Cecilia*, neatly written in her own hand in Greek letters, is still extant. Dean Nowell, whom she had often consulted and employed as her almoner, was called upon to preach her funeral sermon. Her afflicted husband soothed his sorrow for her loss by recounting some of the deeds of charity, great, numerous, and permanent, which she had devised and conducted in her life-time; chiefly without his knowledge, but with the advice of the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, she injoining them secrecy, and "forcing upon them some fine pieces of plate, to be used in their chambers, as remembrances of her good-will for their pains." He also drew up a paper of instruction for the Dean, preparatory to his discourse; stating, among other particulars, that he had "lived with her in the state of matrimony forty and two years without any unkindness."

private virtues, which rendered her the ornament and the example of her sex. This affliction was the more severely felt from their long and happy union, Lady Burghley having been his faithful companion and comfort upward of forty years.

It was now that, drooping under this heavy dispensation, almost exhausted by incessant application to public business, and agonised occasionally by the gout, this illustrious statesman earnestly solicited leave to resign his employments, especially as his son Robert began to stand high in the Queen's favour: but Elizabeth, who knew his value, would by no means consent to it. To console him for his loss, she paid him frequent visits, and took every opportunity to do him honour in the eyes of the people, than which nothing could be better calculated to sooth his declining age, and to excite it to fresh exertions in the public service. Accordingly, we find him extremely active, upon sundry occasions, during the last ten years of his life. In 1591, the Queen by his advice founded the University of Dublin, and by him the plan of education was drawn up; and in 1593, he had the sole management of every branch of administration, filling the delicate and difficult post of Prime Minister, and acquitting himself of it's extensive duties with as mucir ability and despatch, as if he had been in the very vigour of manhood.

“ To him (says one of his earliest biographers) all ranks of people addressed themselves, to the very last. The Bishops and clergy for encouragement, protection, and preferment: the Puritans (who were persecuted, against his opinion, in council) for favourable treatment and relief from the oppressions of the

prelates and of the ecclesiastical courts: fugitives in foreign countries for pardon, which he granted, in consideration of the intelligence they procured him of the designs of the Popes, and of the King of Spain, against his country: the lieutenants of counties, for instructions and advice; the admirals, for fleets and supplies; in a word, the interests of the state abroad, and it's domestic tranquillity at home, were provided for and preserved to the latest hour of his life.

“At length, his dissolution approached by slow and easy gradations; and in fact his disease, properly speaking, was nothing more than the decay of old age, hastened by incessant labour and fatigue of mind and body.

“His death was not sudden, nor his pain in sickness great; for he continued languishing two or three months, yet went abroad to take the air in his coach all that time; retiring from the court, sometimes to his house at Theobald's, and sometimes at London. His greatest apparent infirmity was, the weakness of his stomach. It was also thought his mind was troubled, that he could not effect a peace for his country, which he earnestly desired, seeking to leave it as he had long kept it.

“About ten or twelve days before he died, he grew weak, and so was driven to keep his bed, complaining only of a pain in his breast; which was thought to be the humour of the gout (wherewith he was so long possessed) falling to that place, without any ague, fever, or sign of distemper, and that pain not great nor continual, but by fits; and so continued till within one night before his death. He expired on the fourth of August, 1598.

“ Now might one see all the world mourning: the Queen, for an old and true servant; the council, for a wise and grave counsellor; the court, for their honourable benefactor; his country and commonwealth, trembling as it were at one blow to have their head stricken off; the people, widows, and wards, lamenting to lose their protector, religion her patron, justice her true minister, and peace her upholder. His children bewailing the loss of such a father, his friends of such a friend, and his servants of such a master: all men rather bewailing his loss, than hoping ever to find such another. Yea, his very enemies, who in his life-time could not abide him, did now both sorrow for his death, and wish him alive again.

“ He was the oldest, the gravest, and the greatest statesman of Christendom; for there was, before his death, never a counsellor left alive in Europe, that were counsellors when he was first made.”

As to his person, it is thus described by his contemporaries. “ He was rather well-proportioned than tall, being of the middle size, very straight and upright of body and legs, and until age and his infirmity of the gout surprised him, very active and nimble of body.”

We subjoin his general character, as drawn by the learned Camden, who having flourished with him during the reign of Elizabeth, survived him many years.

“ Having lived long enough to nature, and long enough to his own glory, but not long enough to his country, he resigned his soul to God with so much peace and tranquillity, that the greatest enemy he

had, freely declared, that 'he envied him nothing but that his sun went down with so much lustre;' whereas, generally, public ministers are not blessed with such calm and fortunate periods.

"Certainly, he was a most excellent man; for he was so liberally furnished by nature (to say nothing of his presence and aspect, which had a commanding sweetness in them) and so polished and adorned with learning and education, that every way for honesty, gravity, temperance, industry, and justice he was a most accomplished person."

"He had also an easy and flowing eloquence, which consisted not in a pomp and ostentation of words, but in a masculine plainness and significance of sense. He was master of a prudence formed upon experience, and regulated by temper and moderation. His loyalty was true, and would endure the touch, and was only exceeded by his piety, which indeed was eminently great. To sum up all in a word, the Queen was happy in so great a councillor, and the state of England for ever indebted to him for his sage and prudent counsel.

"I shall forbear (adds this able historian) too lavish a commendation of him; but this I may venture to affirm with truth, that he was one of those few, who lived and died with equal glory: such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I after the ancient manner am rather inclined to contemplate with the sacred applause of silent veneration!"

"Lord Bughley," says Granger, "has been deservedly placed at the head of our English statesmen; not only for his great abilities and indefatigable application, but also for his inviolable attachment to the

interests of his mistress.* There needs no stronger proof, perhaps no stronger can be given, of his great capacity for business, than the following: ‘ Beside all business in council or other weighty causes, and such as were answered by word of mouth, there was not a day in term wherein he received not threescore, four-score, or a hundred petitions; which he commonly read at night, and gave every man an answer the next morning as he went to the hall, whence the excellence of his memory was greatly admired: for when any of these petitioners told him their names, or what countrymen they were, he presently entered into the merit of his request, and having discussed it gave him his answer!’ ”

His character indeed is, as it were, identified with the long reign, of which he might almost be pronounced the soul. Prudent in following, and resolute in executing, without any thing that indicated genius, he had all that wisdom of experience and that indefatigable application, which qualify the statesman for the management of great and complicated affairs, and seldom fail of insuring eventual success. If his politics appear to have been in some instances dark and crooked, they were perhaps rendered necessary

* Burghley, and the other great ministers of Elizabeth (it may be added) ‘ were absolutely of her own choice; and their characters and conduct were such, that nothing can be more just, than what Waller with his usual vivacity said in reply to James H., who in diminution of her personal merit allowed her to have an able council: “ And when did your Majesty ever know a foolish prince to choose a wise one?” (*Hist. View of Negotiations between England, France, and russels.*) She brought out, indeed, beside Burghley and his brother-statesmen, Bacon, Egerton, Smith, Cooke, Parker, Grindal, Cox, Aylmer, Sandys, and Jewell.

by peculiar emergencies, and certainly well suited the disposition of Elizabeth, to whom he was ever, during the long course of nearly forty years, a most faithful servant. In his private character, he was enough of the courtier to maintain and improve the advantages offered him by circumstances, yet, with a fund of probity which conciliated esteem. His manner of living, though splendid, was regulated by such a spirit of true economy, that he raised a considerable fortune; though not more than might innocently be acquired in the great posts which he had occupied during so extensive a period. His functions, as a statesman, did not permit him to distinguish himself in any other capacity. He is mentioned, however, as the author of a few Latin verses, and some historical and moral tracts: but there is no proof, that the celebrated libel, entitled ‘Leicester’s Commonwealth,’ proceeded from his pen. A great number of his letters on public business are still extant: thirty-three in Pack’s ‘*Desiderata Curiosa*,’ three in Howard’s ‘Collections,’ and many others in Forbes’, Haynes’, and Murdin’s ‘State-Papers.’ See also Birch’s ‘Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,’ Harington’s ‘*Nugæ Antiquæ*,’ and Hardwicke’s ‘Miscellaneous State-Papers;’ beside many still unpublished compositions.

Lord Burghley left two sons. Thomas, the issue of his first wife, was created Earl of Exeter by James I., a title which in the loftier denomination of Marquis continues in the same family at the present day. The younger (by his second wife) Sir Robert, afterward Earl of Salisbury,* succeeded him in all his offices.

* This title, likewise, continues in the Cecil family.

To this son he gave the Ten Precepts, which are here subjoined. They furnish, perhaps, the most curious specimen at once of his manner as a writer, of his personal character, and in some sort of the age in which he lived.

‘ SON ROBERT,

‘The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother, by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me in rather assurance than hope, that thou art not ignorant of that *summum bonum*, which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy death as life; I mean the true knowledge and worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other things are vain and miserable. So that, thy youth being guided by so sufficient a teacher, I make no doubt but he will furnish thy life with divine and moral documents. Yet, that I may not cast off the care befitting a parent toward his child, or that thou shouldest have cause to derive thy whole felicity and welfare rather from others than from whence thou received'st thy breath and being; I think it fit and agreeable to the affection I bear thee, to help thee with such rules and advertisements for the squaring of thy life, as are rather gained by experience than by much reading: to the end that, entering into this exorbitant age, thou mayest be the better prepared to shun those scandalous courses, whereunto the world and the lack of experience may easily draw thee. And, because I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into Ten Precepts; and next unto Moses' tables, if thou imprint them in thy mind, thou shalt reap the

benefit and I the content. And they are these following :

‘ I. When it shall please God to bring thee to man’s estate, use great providence and circumspection in choosing thy wife. For from thence will spring all thy future good, or evil. And it is an action of life, like unto a stratagem of war ; wherein a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home, and at leisure ; if weak, far off, and quickly. Inquire diligently of her disposition, and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous, well-born soever. For a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor choose a base and uncomely creature altogether for wealth ; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf, or a fool : for by the one thou shalt beget a race of pigmies ; the other will be thy continual disgrace, and it will irk thee to hear her talk. For thou shalt find it to thy grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool.

‘ And, touching thy guiding of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate ; and, according to the means of thy estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly. For I never knew any man grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But some consume themselves through secret vices, and their hospitality bears the blame. But banish swinish drunkards out of thine house, which is a vice impairing health, consuming much and makes no show. I never heard praise ascribed to the drunkard, but for the well-bearing of his drink ; which is a better commendation for a brewer’s horse or a drayman, than for either a gentleman or a serving man. Beware thou spend

not above three or four parts of thy revenues; nor above a third of that, in thy house. For the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary by much: otherwise, thou shalt live like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily, nor contentedly: for every disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And that gentleman, that sells an acre of land, sells an ounce of credit. For gentility is nothing else but ancient riches; so that, if the foundation shall at any time sink, the building must needs follow.—So much for the first precept.

‘II. Bring thy children up in learning and obedience, yet without outward austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly; give them good countenance, and convenient maintenance according to thy ability: otherwise, thy life will seem their bondage; and what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death, they will thank death for it, and not thee. And I am persuaded that the foolish cockering of some parents, and the over-stern carriage of others, causeth more men and women to take ill courses, than their own vicious inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time, lest they marry themselves. And suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps; for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more, than to have meat served in diverse dishes. Neither, by my consent, shalt thou train them up in wars; for he, that sets up his rest to live by that profession, can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian. Besides, it is

a science no longer in request, than use. For soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

‘ III. Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee. For he, that putteth his hand to the purse for every expense of household, is like him that keepeth water in a sieve. And what provision thou shalt want, learn to buy it at the best hand. For there is one penny saved in four, betwixt buying in thy need, and when the markets and seasons serve fittest for it. Be not served with kinsmen or friends, or men entreated to stay; for they expect much, and do little: nor with such as are amorous, for their heads are intoxicated. And keep rather two too few, than one too many. Feed them well, and pay them with the most; and, then, thou mayest boldly require service at their hands.

‘ IV. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy house and table, grace them with thy countenance, and father them in all honest actions. For by this means thou shalt so double the band of nature, as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean, parasites and sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperity, but in an adverse storm they will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

‘ V. Beware of suretyship for thy best friends. He, that payeth another man’s debts, seeketh his own decay. But, if thou can’st not otherwise choose, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bonds, although thou borrow it: so shalt thou secure thyself, and pleasure thy friend. Neither borrow money of a neighbour or a friend, but of a stranger; where

paying for it, thou shalt hear no more of it. Otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy freedom, and yet pay as dear as to another. But, in borrowing money, be precious of thy word; for he, that hath care of keeping days of payment, is lord of another man's purse.

‘ VI. Undertake no suit against a poor man without receiving much wrong. For, beside that thou makest him thy compeer, it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against any man, before thou be fully resolved that thou hast right on thy side; and, then, spare not for either money or pains. For a cause or two, so followed and obtained, will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

‘ VII. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge. And, if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a foot-ball for every insulting companion to spurn at.

‘ VIII. Toward thy superiors, be humble, yet generous: with thine equals familiar, yet respective: toward thy inferiors show much humanity, and some familiarity, as to bow the body, stretch forth the hand, and to uncover the head: with such like popular compliments. The first prepares thy way to advancement: the second makes thee known for a man well bred: the third gains a good report; which, once got, is easily kept. For right humanity takes such deep root in the minds of the multitude, as they are more easily gained by unprofitable cour-

tesies, than by churlish benefits. Yet I advise thee not to affect, or neglect, popularity too much. Seek not to be Essex, shun to be Raleigh.

‘IX. Trust not any man with thy life, credit, or estate. For it is mere folly for a man so to enthrall himself to his friend, as though occasion being offered, he should not dare to become thine enemy.

‘X. Be not scurrilous in conversation, nor satirical in thy jests. The one will make thee unwelcome to all company; the other pull on quarrels, and get thee hated of thy best friends. For suspicious jests, when any of them savour of truth, leave a bitterness in the minds of those which are touched. And, albeit I have already pointed at this inclusively, yet I think it necessary to leave it to thee as a special caution; because I have seen so many prone to quip and gird, as they would rather lose their friend than their jest. And, if perchance their boiling brain yield a quaint scoff, they will travail to be delivered of it as a woman with child. These nimble fancies are but the froth of wit.’

The following is his Commentary on the character of Wolsey, addressed to Queen Elizabeth:

‘MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

‘Full of assurance that my unfeigned zeal for your Majesty’s interest and service will be evident in what I humbly presume to remonstrate to your Majesty, I shall venture to speak my mind with a freedom worthy the noble end and aim of my design. When any man, that is as ambitious as myself* of engaging your Majesty’s good opinion of my actions, and your favour on my endeavours, shall attempt to plead against any particulars engrossing your royal ear, he

cannot well be suspected of directing his discourse and solicitations on that head to any private interest and advantage. Since by advancing the contrary position, he might hope perhaps in time and in his turn, by the force of industry and application, to enjoy the benefit of it.

‘ Secure therefore in my zeal for the welfare of my prince and my country, I shall venture to appeal to your Majesty’s knowledge of history, whether it afford any one instance of that nature, which has not been, or was very likely to be, of fatal consequence to the prince, or the people, or both. I will not insist on Sejanus, or any other of the Roman minions, to whose ambition or avarice when the nobility had fallen in numbers, and the people felt the rage of their exorbitant passions, unsatisfied with what they possessed, they have aimed at the life and throne of the prince that raised them. The reason of which is plain; because having only themselves and their own private advantage in view, they make use of the prince only as the means of their own grandeur, without any regard to his real service or the public good, against which it is impossible to do the prince any.

‘ A king, by his royal office, is the father of his country, whose eye ought to watch over the good of all and every one of his subjects, in the just execution of the laws and the impartial dispensation of prerogative; in redressing of grievances, rewarding virtue, punishing vice, encouraging industry, and the like. But princes, though the vicegerents of heaven, being not endued with omniscience, can only know these grievances, virtues, vices, industry, &c., of the people, and their several exigencies, by the eyes and information of others; nor can this be

done by trusting to any one particular favourite, who having no more nor larger qualifications than his prince, can have no other means of informing him aright, than what his prince has without him. Nay, it may very well be said, that he has not any means so sure and infallible: for the prince, if he consult his great councils, and only adhere to their public decisions, cannot miss of knowing all, that is necessary to be known for his own glory and his people's good, which are inseparable; but the favourite, having private designs to carry on, receives his information from those who must represent things to him as he would have them, by that means to make their court, and secure that success to their wishes for which they daily pay the adoration of so much flattery. But if, by the wonderful perspicacity and application of the favourites, he should attain a true knowledge of the state of things, of the inclinations and desires of the people; it is forty to one, that these clashing with his private aims, he gives them another face to the prince, a turn more agreeable to his separate interest, though equally destructive of his master's and country's good.

‘The only way therefore for a prince to govern, with satisfaction to his own conscience, is to be the common father of all his country, to hear the advice of all his counsellors, and have an open ear to all the grievances and necessities of all his people: which can never be done, while any one man has the luck to possess the royal favour, so far as to make his advice an over-balance to the whole nation. They gain by that means a power, which they extremely seldom, if ever, use for the people's or prince's advantage, but most commonly (if not always) to the destruction of both. There are examples enow of this, to

alarm any wise and politic prince. The Mayors of the Palace in France at last possessed the throne. And domestic instances might be given of those, who by their excessive power have, if not themselves possessed, yet deprived and set whom they pleased on the throne.

‘ But omitting what your Majesty knows extremely well, I shall only give you a view of a great favourite in the reign of your royal father; a true prospect of whose practices and ambition may warn your Majesty against all those, who would engross not only your Majesty’s ear, but all the gifts and places your Majesty can bestow; so to be, if not in name, yet in effect, kings of your people. I mean Cardinal Wolsey, whose fame has been pretended to be vindicated by a domestic of his,* in the days of the late Queen. And though I shall not deny his admirable qualifications and parts, or his justice in many particulars; yet I shall show, that the ills he did were much more prejudicial to the King and people, than the good he did beneficial to them.

‘ Whatever he did as Chancellor, allowing his decrees all equitable and just, will not be sufficient to destroy my assertion: since that only reached some particulars, who had causes depending before him; but the many exorbitances of his administration spread to the whole people, as will appear from those few instances which I shall give, by which he will put the King on such illegal attempts to replenish that exchequer, which his ambition and pride, more than any profusion or expenses of the King, had exhausted.

* Cavendish.—But see a late Tract, ‘ Who wrote Cavendish’s Life of Wolsey?’

‘The reason of this assertion will be plain, if your Majesty will reflect on the more-than-royal retinue, which, though a subject of the lowest and most plebeian rise, he maintained. For not to waste your Majesty’s important hours with a long catalogue of the particulars, he had in his family one earl, nine barons, knights, gentlemen, and inferior officers about one thousand: for the maintenance of whom he was at once possessed of the Almonership, the Bishoprics of Tournay, Lincoln, and York, and Durham, St. Alban’s *in commendam*, the Bishopric of Winchester (in exchange for that of Durham) the revenues of those of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, was Lord Chancellor of England, and had the disposal of all places of trust and profit, and singly and alone despatched all public negotiations.

‘But the maintenance of so numerous a dependence was not, perhaps, the moiety of his expenses. He had long entertained an ambition to be Pope, and he was too wise to attempt any thing in the conclave or court of Rome, by means of which he could have no hopes of success. Money has always been the only argument, which has prevailed in the papal elections, or in the particular interests, that the princes in obedience to that see form for themselves or favourites. The Cardinal must, therefore, be at an expense proportionable to the vehemence of his desires; which having no bounds, his largesses to obtain that end could be bounded by nothing but the abilities of the King and kingdom, the treasure of which was wholly at his command.

‘This was the reason, that prevailed with him to engage the King his master to lend sums of money to the Emperor, whose poverty was so well known,

that he could have no prospect of ever having them repaid. 'Tis true, the Emperor and the court of Rome were not fair chapmen, but received his money, and at the same time instead of promoting obstructed all his aims at the triple crown. These incident charges, joined with the constant expenses of so numerous a retinue, occasioned perpetual and large disbursements; and these put him on extraordinary ways and means of providing a fund for their continuance.

‘To this end he grants commissions under the great seal of England, which obliged every man on oath to deliver the true value and estimate of his estate, and to pay four shillings in the pound for every fifty pounds and upward. This was so heavy and severe a tax, that it’s being authorised by parliament would not have freed it from the imputation of an oppression of the subject: but to be done by the private authority of a subject, is what wants a name. And that it was so, notwithstanding the great seal was affixed to the commissions, is plain from his Majesty’s disowning the matter, as such a violation of the fundamental rights of the people, and a total dissolution of Magna Charta, that no wise King of England could be guilty of. A just consideration of this made the King declare, that ‘though his necessities were great, yet he should never think them great enough to make him attempt the raising money by any but the legal way, of the people’s consent in parliament.’

‘Though the King had made this declaration, and the Cardinal found his first illegal project defeated; yet since money was to be had, or his designs fall to the ground, he once more tries one as little agreeable

to law as the former, though not so odious and improper. He therefore puts the King on desiring a benevolence of the people, without an act of parliament. And the Commissioners, who were the Cardinal's creatures, and employed by him, exacted this money, not as a free gift, but as if due by law. But in this he was exactly disappointed, though at the expense of his master's reputation; for the people pleaded a statute of Richard III., and obstinately refused to pay it.

‘ There is something yet very particularly remarkable in this affair, which discovers the ingratitude of the favourite. For to take off the imputation of doing this of his own head, he summoned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen before him, and solemnly protested that from a thorough conviction of their inability to bear so heavy a tax, and out of his sincere affection to them, he had in a most humble manner been a mediator with the King, to recall those commissions, and wholly throw himself on their free gifts and good inclinations to his Majesty; thus casting the odium of the attempt on the King, and challenging the merit of their revocation to himself. And this is the necessary consequence of the pride and ambition of such favourites, as would monopolise the ear of the prince, to whom they have no farther regard than as he is subservient to their aims and designs. For, if the honour and service of their prince and country was in their view, they would never be solicitous of excluding all others, whose judgement and zeal might be assistant to the success of that common cause.

‘ These sort of men are easily distinguished, by a judicious and wise prince, by their complaisance and

their fawning devices. They make it their endeavour to study, and find out, the most powerful inclination of the King; whether he be inclined by youth or temper to pleasures, to tenderness or pity, to cruelty or avarice: and having thoroughly gained a knowledge of this, they seldom want address enough to work and interweave it in all their designs, to promote and accomplish all their private ends. And there are few of mankind, who are not sooner won by an obsequious flattery of their darling inclinations, than with the rough, and often thought disagreeable, face of truth in contradiction of those inclinations. And, of all mankind, princes are the most apt to be thus imposed on; because use being a second nature, and they being bred from their infancy with a deference of all their attendants and a will uncontrolled, seem to have a sort of right to do what they please without contradiction: and this makes them think those most their friends, who have the most submissive complaisance for whatever they have a mind to. Now it is impossible, that the best-inclined prince should always be free from desires, often inconsistent with the good of their people, for which they were wholly made; and a faithful counsellor is obliged to oppose this, and humbly to remonstrate the inconvenience, that must ensue from an indulgence of it. Whereas the false favourite adds fire to the fuel, by persuading the justice and reasonableness of a prince's doing what he pleases, and that his will alone is the mark of right and wrong; that his subjects ought to suffer all things, rather than he want his pleasure; that being the viceroy of heaven, he is unaccountable to his creatures for his actions.

‘ These are topics too engaging to the corrupt na-

ture of man, in which pride has so great a share, that he easily is induced to believe, that all is his due that he can obtain: especially a young prince, whose want of experience and warmth of blood deny him the calm considerations, necessary for a happy administration of government. This we find verified in Nero, whose first five years, by the admirable precepts of Seneca, excelled those of Augustus; but when he gave ear to such flatterers as I have described, [he] soon swallowed the gilded poison, till he perished in the obstinacy of his own will.

‘ And though there was a vast distinction betwixt your royal father and that prince, yet he would have made a more glorious figure in history, and in the world, had not Cardinal Wolsey’s advice prevailed on him in his young and riper years to quit the administration to him, and indulge in all the pleasures his high station and vast exchequer enabled him to enjoy. Bribed by so sweet a bait, he pursued the counsel, and kept such a habit, that betrayed him to actions, that are not capable of being so far justified as I could wish they might. Yet it may easily be proved, that King Henry was guilty of no fault, but ’twas the natural consequence of this advice of Wolsey; and from which even Wolsey himself, by a particular instance of Providence, derived his own ruin.

‘ ’Tis true, that princes of a good and generous disposition are not so easily perverted by this way, because they afford the flatterer less matter to work on: yet it is certain, that a man of nice judgement and address will easily turn the virtues of his prince to the public detriment, if he can once gain so far the ascendant over him, as to hear no other counsellor but him and his immediate creatures. And he is by

so much the more dangerous, by how much he is master of a more eminent wisdom (or, rather, cunning) and some show of indifferent virtues, to which his prince is particularly inclined. For we are too apt to imagine those to have all manner of virtues, and the greatest capacity, who seem to enjoy those we have a particular esteem for. As this must be confessed a harder task for the favourite, so it must likewise be owned more difficult to remedy: for a virtuous temper is much harder to be brought off from an esteem of a beloved virtue, or the possession of it, than a vicious man from his corrupt inclinations. For there is such a conviction in vice, that the most wicked by reason and thought may be worked from it; but all the sufferings, that proceed from mistaken virtue, serve only to harden the sufferer, while he thinks he undergoes them for righteousness' sake.

‘ But I think there is one rule infallible in this case, by which a prince may easily discover the hypocrite, and avoid the evils of the hypocrisy; and that is, when the pretender aims at engrossing the ear and power of the prince: for that is a plain argument, that he stands not on a sound bottom, and fears that the cheat will be discovered to the prince by a communication of counsel, and his hearing the rest of his wise and honest subjects, on all causes that relate to the public good of the country or the service of the prince; because they have an equal share in the welfare of both, and will not by common consent betray their own interest, which is involved in the other. This made a wise prince say, that *in the multitude of counsellors is safety*. Whence, by a

natural consequence, it is plain, that in one there is danger; danger to the glory of the prince, and the happiness of the people: and often, very justly, ruin to the very person, who by such unjust measures hoped to gain power and felicity.

‘ The passions too much indulged, and not justly regulated and governed by the sacred rules of right reason, are and always have been the source of all miseries and misfortunes, both private and public. And it is impossible, that any one of mortal race can escape pain greater or less, who will hear no other advices. The highest and most awful stations cannot secure the greatest monarchs from troubles and misfortunes, who will be led by them. And I think it is too plain to need any proof, that no prince can be guided by any one minister, but through a passionate fondness of him, either for his imaginary virtues or agreeable vices: and I think it is as plain, that such a prince, and the kingdom governed by him, must be miserable in the end. And for this reason, all wise statesmen agree, that a prince or state ought to have no passions, if they would prosper in glory and power.

‘ It is very true, that valour and conduct in armies may shine in one subject above another; that frugality and good management may in another: but till we can find one man master of all knowledge and all virtues, it will never be safe nor honourable for any prince wholly to confide himself and his affairs to either, exclusive of all others. For that nation is in a lost and undone condition indeed, that can afford but one man among all it's nobility and gentry qualified to serve the public, and in whom the prince can-

not have an equal confidence. Nay, it is an argument of the weakness and depravity of a prince, who if he encouraged and rewarded virtue, would not want numbers of able heads to assist him.

‘ But, Madam, I must remember to whom it is that I am speaking, to one of the wisest and best of princes; on whom the first flattery can never have any effect, as being entirely free from all vicious inclinations, and of too good judgement to be imposed on by the fairest appearances of virtue so far, as to lose the juster considerations of public good in the shining qualities of any particular. Under you, Madam, we find that saying true, ‘ How happy is the kingdom governed by a philosopher!’ We feel the blessing, and every day experience the manna of your reign. And how indulgent soever your Majesty may be thought to the eminent excellences of some, yet I have no manner of fear that they will ever be able to expel your Majesty’s affections from all your other subjects, or make you ever deviate to a partiality in their favour against the good and universal cries of your people.

‘ This noble temper of your Majesty it is, that secures me against all fears from this freedom, which I have taken; since you will easily see a public spirit, void of all private aims, shine through the whole. I have, therefore, only to add my ardent wishes for the prosperous and long reign of your Majesty, over a people that are sensible of the blessing, which Providence has bestowed on them in their gracious Queen.’

STANZAS SENT, WITH A NEW YEAR'S GIFT OF A SPINNING-
WHEEL, BY SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO HIS DAUGHTER.

As years do grow, so cares increase,
And time will move ; so look to thrift :
Though years in me work nothing less,
Yet for your years and New Year's Gift
This housewife's toy is now my shift.
To set you on work some thrift to feel,
I send you now a spinning-wheel.

But one thing first I wish and pray,
Lest thirst of thrift might soon you tire,
Only to spin one pound a-day,
And play the rest, as times require.
Sweat not, oh fie !—fling work in fire.
God send, who send'th all thrift and wealth,
You long years, and your father health.

Anno 1566.

(Cecil Papers.)

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.*

[1567—1601.]

ROBERT DEVEREUX was the eldest son of Walter first Earl of Essex, by Lettice daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, who was related to Queen Elizabeth. He was born in 1567 at Netherwood, his father's seat in Herefordshire.

This nobleman, destined subsequently to run an illustrious career, was during his tender years so backward in his learning, that his father died with a very humble idea of his abilities: but this, in the judgement of many, proceeded from his preference of his younger son, Walter, who it appears had quicker parts in his childhood. On his death-bed however, he recommended Robert, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, and to the care of Lord Burghley, whom he appointed his guardian. Water-

* **AUTHORITIES.** Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*; Baker's *Chronicle*; Winstanley's *English Worthies*; Birch's *Memoirs, &c. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*; and Hume's *History of England*.

house, then Secretary for Ireland, in which country his father expired, had the immediate direction of his person and estate, which though not a little injured by his predecessor's public spirit, was still very considerable; and his popularity at court was so remarkable, that according to that gentleman's assertion, 'there was no man so strong in friends as the little Earl of Essex.'

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, Lord Burghley placed him at Trinity College, Cambridge, under the care of Dr. Whitgift the master, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury. Here he first began to apply himself to learning with uncommon assiduity; and, in a short time, he surpassed all his noble contemporaries.

In 1582, having taken the degree of M.A. he left the University, and retired to his own house at Lambsie in South-Wales, to which he gradually became so much attached for its rural quiet, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it.

His first appearance at court was in the seventeenth year of his age. Thither he carried with him, among other powerful recommendations, a fine person, a polite address, and an affability which procured him numerous friends. Neither must it be forgotten that his mother, not long after his father's death, had married the Queen's favourite, the celebrated Earl of Leicester. At first, however, he showed great reluctance to avail himself of his step-father's interest, being disgusted at the nuptials which opened his way to it; but in the end, by the persuasion of his friends, he was so far reconciled to him, that toward the close of the year 1585 he accompanied him to Holland,

with the title of General of the Horse. In this quality, he gave the highest proofs of personal courage in the battle of Zutphen; and, for his gallant behaviour upon that occasion, was created by Leicester a Knight-banneret.

On his return to England, it quickly appeared that the Queen not only approved, but was desirous also of rewarding, his services; for upon Leicester's advancement in 1587 to the office of Lord-Steward, Essex succeeded him as Master of the Horse. The following year, when her Majesty assembled the army at Tilbury for the defence of the kingdom, and gave the command of it under herself to Leicester, she created Essex General of the Horse; and, soon afterward, conferred upon him the Order of the Garter.

The death of Leicester, which happened in the same year, placed him on the pinnacle of prosperity. He had, now, no rival near the throne: on the contrary, Burghley, the chief person in power, was his patron and his friend. From this time, the Queen showed a decisive partiality in his favour, which so perverted his better judgement, that he occasionally gave way to sallies of arrogance and vanity even in her presence, till the following incident administered a check to his presumption: Sir Charles Blount, a very handsome young man, having distinguished himself at a tilting-match, her Majesty sent him a chess-queen of gold enamelled, which he fastened upon his arm with a crimson ribbon. Essex under an impulse of jealousy cried out, with affected disdain, "Now, I perceive, every fool must have a favour." For this affront, Blount challenged Essex:

they met in Marybone-Park, and the Earl was disarmed and wounded in the thigh. The Queen, far from being displeased at the disgrace of one who had called in question her judgement, affirmed with an oath, that 'it was fit some one or other should take him down, otherwise there would be no ruling him.' However, she reconciled the rivals, who to their honour continued friends as long as they lived.

In 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake undertook an expedition for the purpose of restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal. This the Earl regarded as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he himself remained only an idle spectator. He, therefore, followed the fleet and army to Spain; and having joined them at Corunna, prosecuted the rest of the expedition with great vigilance and valour.* But he incurred the Queen's displeasure, by having gone without her express leave. On his return, however, he soon re-established himself in her good graces; nor was it long, before he obtained new and substantial marks of her recovered favour, in grants of very considerable value.

About this time, he incurred an additional risk of her regard, by a private (and, as it was then conceived, inconsiderate) match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majesty affected to consider as in some measure derogatory from the

* Among other proofs of his chivalrous spirit, while skirmishing in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, he by sound of trumpet challenged the governor, or any person of equal quality with himself, to single combat.

honour of the house of Essex ; and, though for the present this business passed unnoticed, it was probably not quickly forgotten.

In 1591, Henry IV. of France having demanded fresh assistance from Elizabeth, though he had already a body of her troops in his service, she despatched Essex with four thousand men, a small train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy ; where it was proposed, that he should join the French army, in order to undertake the siege of Rouen. The French King, however, neglected to perform the conditions upon which the succours were sent ; though Essex, at his request, made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, in order to concert measures for giving the Queen satisfaction.

Upon his return from this journey, Essex, in order to sustain the spirit of his officers, conferred on many of them the honour of knighthood : a circumstance, with which Elizabeth was highly offended. In many excursions, which he made from his camp to the very walls of Rouen, though he fearlessly exposed his person, he always came off unhurt ; but he was much blamed for his temerity, his younger brother Walter, then in the flower of his age, being slain in one of these rash exploits.

The winter-service harassing the troops, who were now engaged in the siege of that city, Essex, not a little provoked, solicited leave of Henry to proceed in his own manner, promising to storm the place with the English forces. But the King, unwilling to let his allies plunder one of the richest towns in his dominions, refused his request. Upon this Essex, still more irritated, resolved to quit a station, where no renown could be acquired. Before he set off how-

ever, he challenged M. Villars, governor of Rouen, to single combat; and, on his refusing to fight, having consigned the command of his troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of courage and experience, he embarked for England, where his presence was now become necessary, from the efforts of his enemies to injure him in his royal mistress' regard. These impressions, indeed, he succeeded in removing; but both in this and the succeeding years, partly from the loftiness of his temper, and partly from the artifices of those who envied his greatness, he encountered various causes of chagrin.

A treasonable book, written abroad by a Jesuit, with a view to create dissension in England about the succession, had been published under the name of Doleman. This work, by a refinement in malice, was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, in order to create him trouble; and it's object was, for a short time, apparently accomplished: but his popularity raised him so many friends, that the artifice was speedily detected, and it's contrivers incurred the contempt which they deserved.

Ambitious of military fame, Essex was uneasy without it. This made him solicit the command of the land-forces, sent out with the fleet under Drake and Hawkins against the Spanish colonies in 1594; but Elizabeth absolutely refused him, in terms however manifesting a degree of personal interest in his safety, which exposed her to defamation. She told him, 'She loved him, and her realm, too much to hazard his person in any lesser action than that, which should import her crown and state, and therefore willed him to be content.' She gave him likewise a warrant for four thousand pounds, notwithstanding her usual

parsimony, with these remarkable words; "Look to thyself, good Essex, and be wise to thyself, without giving thine enemies advantage, and my hand shall be readier to help thee than any other."

Thus disappointed of going abroad, he employed his talents at home in cultivating her Majesty's good graces and the favour of the people; and he, happily, succeeded in both. To this, the detection of an alarming conspiracy against the Queen, effected by his sagacity, largely contributed: Rodrigo Lopez a Portuguese Jew, whom Elizabeth for his medical abilities had appointed her domestic physician, had been bribed by the agents of Spain to poison his royal patroness. By the vigilance of Essex and his dependents, who frequented the palace and were familiar with the royal household, the whole plot was unravelled; and Lopez, with two others of his countrymen, was executed for high treason. After this, the Queen could no longer deny to her favourite those military honours, which he had so long sighed for in vain.

Accordingly in 1596, when the Spaniards laid siege to Calais, and the discharges of their artillery were heard at Greenwich, an army was hastily despatched to Dover under his command, her Majesty intending to embark them for the assistance of her opposite neighbours. But this the French wisely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards hold Calais for a short time, than to see it preserved by the intervention of the English; who, presuming on their ancient rights, would probably hold it for ever.

The Queen however, taking advantage of the wish manifested by her people to keep the war at a dis-

tance, and to prevent the Spaniards from projecting a second invasion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for the attack of Cadiz. Upon this occasion, the greatest part of the expenses were borne by the principal persons engaged in the enterprise. The armament, both from it's number of ships (150), and the land-soldiers and mariners aboard, was the most considerable which had hitherto been assembled. The command of it was entrusted to the Earl of Essex, and Lord Howard (then Lord High Admiral of England) with joint and equal authority: and Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, a veteran general who had acquired immortal fame by several campaigns in Holland and Flanders, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford, were nominated as their assistant council of war. After being joined by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, on the eighteenth of June they arrived off Cape St. Vincent; where they learned from an Irish bark, that the port of Cadiz was full of rich merchant-ships, and that they had no suspicion even of the equipment of the English armament. On the twentieth they anchored near St. Sebastian's, on the west of the island of Cadiz, where the Admiral wished to land the forces, in order to their immediately attacking the town; but Essex, upon trial finding this to be impracticable, by the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh desisted.

It was then proposed by the Earl to begin with attacking the fleet. To this hazardous project the Lord Admiral at length agreed, upon which Essex threw his hat into the sea for joy. The next day, their heroic resolution was as heroically carried into

execution ; no one distinguishing himself more than the General, who in his own ship (the *Due Re-pulse*) offered to second Raleigh in boarding the *St. Philip*. The Spaniards behaved with great gallantry, as long as any hopes remained, after which setting fire to their ships, they retired.

Essex now landed eight hundred men at the port of Puntal : and having adopted measures for destroying the bridge, attacked the place with so much fury, that it was quickly taken ; and, the next day, the citadel surrendered upon capitulation. An offer was then made of two millions of ducats for the ships ; but the Admiral replied, ‘ He came there to consume, and not to compound.’ Upon this, the Spaniards themselves set them on fire ; with a loss, as it was computed, of ten times the sum proffered.

Essex was extremely desirous of keeping Cadiz, which he proposed to have done with a very small garrison ; but the council differing from him in opinion, they plundered the island, demolished the forts, and bore away for the port of Faro, a bishop’s see* in Portugal, which they destroyed. They next proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and held a council, to determine whether they should sail for the Azores, with a view of intercepting the Plate-fleet ; but this was determined in the negative. The Earl’s offer of making the attempt with two of her Majesty’s ships and ten others, was likewise rejected.† For

* A very valuable library belonging to Jerom Osorius, a celebrated Portuguese prelate who died in 1580, falling to Essex’s share, he generously gave it to the library founded at Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley in the following year.

† This Camden ascribes to the anxiety of some of the officers, who had amassed large booties, to get their treasure safe on shore.

these refusals Essex was so much disgusted with his brother-officers, that upon his return he drew up and dispersed an account of the expedition, in which he freely censured their conduct, not sparing even that of the Lord High Admiral himself. Hence arose a recrimination, in which he was himself charged with want of cool judgement, and with temerity. By this indiscreet step he created a number of powerful enemies, who never forgave him.

The first measure which they took was, to render the Queen jealous of his popularity. With this view, they particularly cautioned her against receiving such as he recommended to civil employments. That a spirit like that of Essex should exhibit to those, whom he deemed the authors of such counsels, visible tokens of resentment, even to the neglect of her Majesty's obvious displeasure, was to be expected. Out of her natural kindness to him, however, as well as from a desire of remunerating his various exertions, she appointed him Master of the Ordnance by patent in the year 1597.

This appears to have quieted his agitated mind; and upon a report that the Spaniards were preparing a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invasion of some part of the British islands, he instantly offered his service to his royal mistress: cheerfully declaring, as Camden assures us, that 'he would either defeat this new Armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or perish in the attempt.' Delighted with his proposal, Elizabeth caused a considerable fleet to be equipped for the occasion; and appointed Essex at once General, Admiral, and Commander-in-chief.

We may infer the interest, which the Earl took in

the success of his voyage, from the number of his friends who accompanied him as volunteers; particularly the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich. Neither could his secret enemies, observing his influence over the Queen, refuse to serve under him in this expedition. His sanguine hopes, however, were in some measure disappointed; for, at sixty leagues' distance from Plymouth, they encountered for four days so violent a storm, that they were obliged to put back, and remained wind-bound a whole month.

During this interval, Essex with Raleigh personally visited the court, in order to receive fresh instructions. His proposals still continued to be highly daring; but, as Camden insinuates, they were at the same time so extremely dangerous, that the Queen refused to give them her countenance.

The squadron being refitted and victualled, Essex by her Majesty's express command disembarked all the land-forces, with the exception of Sir Francis Vere's regiment, and set sail a second time, for the purpose not only of burning the Spanish shipping in their own harbours, but also of intercepting the homeward-bound Plate-fleet, which was expected to touch about this time at the Azores. For these islands, accordingly, he made the best of his way; having informed Sir Walter Raleigh, who commanded one division of the armament, that he himself intended to attack Fayal. By some accident the squadrons separated; and Raleigh, who arrived first, justly apprehending that the smallest delay might frustrate their design, took Fayal himself, before Essex came up with the rest of the fleet. :

This conduct Essex construed into a design to rob him of the honour of the conquest. Accordingly he cashiered the captains, who had borne a part in the enterprise; and he would have shown his resentment against the Admiral himself, had not Lord Thomas Howard induced Raleigh to make some concessions to him, as his superior, which produced a temporary reconciliation between them, and the re-instating of the discarded officers in their commands.

One of the pilots having dissuaded Essex from remaining at Graciosa (where the whole fleet always touched) in consequence of the insecurity of that haven, the Spanish vessels, the grand object of the expedition, got safe into the port of Angra. The English ships had indeed separated into different divisions, with a view of intercepting the enemy; but they passed unseen, except by Sir William Monson,* who though stationed at the greatest distance, gave the signal for a general chase. Unhappily, it was without effect. They fell in, however, with three rich merchant-men from the Havannah; the value of whose cargoes, according to that officer's statement, more than defrayed the expenses of the whole expedition.

Chagrined at the escape of the Plate-fleet, Essex resolved to attempt some enterprise of importance, which might sustain his popularity. With this view, he took the town of Villa Franca by surprise, and pillaged it: after which he set sail for England; and upon his passage would certainly have fallen in with

* A naval officer of distinguished reputation, who had signalled himself in almost every engagement against the Spaniards, and was but ill requited for his services in the reign of James I.

a formidable squadron of Spanish men of war, destined to make a second attempt on England, if a violent storm had not prevented it, and greatly damaged his fleet. The same storm proved however still more fatal to the enemy, who lost eighteen of their largest ships, and were compelled to renounce their projected invasion.

Soon after his arrival in England he repaired to court, where he found the Queen, in consequence of the failure of the expedition, highly incensed against him; upon which, he retired to his house at Wanstead, and under pretence of sickness absented himself from parliament, at that time sitting. His dissatisfaction, as Camden reports, arose from the Lord Admiral's having been created Earl of Nottingham during his absence, with some particular clauses* in the preamble of his patent, which Essex deemed disparaging to himself.

Another cause of disgust was, the appointment of Sir Robert Cecil to the Secretaryship of State. This gentleman, a secret enemy to Essex, was restrained only from openly opposing him by the advice of his father, the Lord Treasurer Burghley. Elizabeth however, as if she meant to apologise to her favourite for every step which she took contrary to his inclinations, conciliated him to the new minister by a present of seven thousand pounds: for Cecil being soon afterward sent on an embassy to France, he un-

* The new dignity was said to be conferred upon him 'on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships;' achievements, which Essex offered to maintain by single combat against Nottingham, his sons, or any of his connexions, belonged solely to himself. To soothe his chagrin, he was created Earl Marshal of England in December, 1597.

dertook the discharge of the duties of his office during his absence. But upon the Ambassador's return in May 1598, with an account of a peace being concluded between France and Spain, a negociation between England and the latter country was earnestly pressed by Burghley, and as vehemently opposed by Essex. The Treasurer, at length, in great heat, told the Earl, that 'he seemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and slaughter:' upon which Essex exclaimed, that the 'blood and slaughter of the Queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention; that he was not against a solid, but a specious and precarious peace; that the Spaniards were a subtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more mischief in time of peace, than of war; and that as to fees, whose hands it was impossible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own.' The Treasurer then produced a volume, in which he showed Essex this passage, "Men of blood shall not live out half their days."

Essex, in vindication of his own opinion, drew up an eloquent Apology, which he addressed to his learned friend Mr. Antony Bacon, 'against those who jealously and maliciously taxed him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country.' This piece, though a lasting memorial of his abilities both as a statesman and a writer, by its publication gave great offence to the Queen, who deprecated nothing so much as submitting political measures to the strictures of the people.

To add to his misfortune, death deprived him about this time of his illustrious friend Lord Burghley:*

* He died, as it has been stated in his Life, in 1598. By

and now his enemies, freed from that powerful restraint, began to form a strong party against him. He still however retained such an ascendancy over the Queen, that if he had kept within the bounds of proper respect to her Majesty, all their attempts would have proved abortive.

But in this situation of his affairs unfortunately, instead of controlling his high and stubborn spirit, he suffered his passions to get the better of his reason: when he was not listened to as a counsellor, he assumed the tone of a dictator; and, if this failed him, he affected to treat his opponents with superciliousness or contempt. In a dispute with Elizabeth in 1598, concerning the choice of a governor for Ireland, unable to prevail upon her to exchange her own nomination of his uncle Sir William Knollys for his friend Sir George Carew, he had the insolence to turn his back upon her Majesty, who taking fire at this disrespect, instantly gave him a violent blow on the cheek; at the same time bidding him, "go and be hanged." The exasperated Earl, losing all presence of mind, committed a second error, in clapping his hand upon his sword: upon which the Lord High Admiral rushed in between them, and Essex withdrew, swearing bitterly, that 'he neither could nor would put up with such an affront.'* From that incident may be dated his ruin;

his decease the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge becoming vacant, that learned body chose the Earl of Essex in his room. Upon this occasion, he paid them a visit, and was entertained at Queen's College with extraordinary magnificence; the room in which he slept being long afterwards, as a proof of their affection, distinguished by the name of 'Essex's Chamber.'

* Upon this occasion the Chancellor Egerton having, in a

for Elizabeth, naturally jealous of her authority, and alarmed at the impetuosity of his temper, though from motives of prudence she appeared to be reconciled to him, withdrew from him thenceforward her accustomed confidence.

About this time occurred an event, which proved the apprehensions entertained of him by the enemies of his country, and ought therefore to have endeared him to all it's friends. One Edward Squire was imprisoned for treason, upon the following grounds: he had been a groom in the Queen's stables, went subsequently to sea with Sir Francis Drake, and being taken prisoner and carried to Spain, was persuaded by a Jesuit to undertake the poisoning of the Earl of Essex, and afterward of Elizabeth herself; for which, he had materials delivered to him in a bladder. This he found means to rub, as he had been directed, upon the pommel of her Majesty's saddle; and getting himself recommended to serve on board Essex's ship in the island-voyage, he in like manner besmeared both the arms of his great chair. As no effect however ensued in either case, the Spanish Jesuit, suspecting his agent and not his drug, caused information to be given in England against Squire; who, finding himself betrayed, confessed his double attempt, and was executed for it,

prudential letter, advised him to make his submission, Essex (in a spirited answer, marked with starts of passion and sentiments of freedom very uncommon at that time) replied; "When the vilest of indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? What, cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power, or authority, infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good lord, I can never subscribe to these principles."

The miseries of Ireland continuing still unrelieved, and it being proposed in the council to send over a new governor with the usual restrictions, Essex took occasion to demonstrate, that ‘nothing had been hitherto so expensive as an ill-timed frugality, as by these restrictions the Irish rebels had been the only gainers.’ His enemies, happy to find him in this disposition, suggested that the total reduction of the island was to be expected only from himself. This, at first, he declined: but perceiving that he could enjoy neither quiet nor comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by disappointing the expectations of his friends he should gradually lose them, in an evil hour he accepted the lieutenancy of the kingdom, which had been the grave of his father’s fortunes, and which his best friends foresaw would prove the gulf of his own. It is true, indeed, that he had a considerable army granted him; that due care was taken for the payment of it; and that his powers were ample, and his appointments immense. But these were obtained with many struggles: every thing which he promised, or seemed to promise, in order to obtain them, was remembered; and when the arrangements were completed, far from going with alacrity, as to a station which he had courted, he seemed to look forward to it as a banishment, and to regard Ireland rather as an asylum from his Sovereign’s displeasure, than as a potent government bestowed upon him by her affection.*

* The truth of this is apparent from an epistle of his to the Queen, written previously to his embarkation: & that kingdom. It is preserved among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum.

‘ TO THE QUEEN.

‘ From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with

On the twelfth of March, 1599, his commission passed the great seal; and on the twenty-seventh of the same month, he set out, accompanied by many of the nobility, and attended by vast crowds of people out of town. Upon reaching Ireland, he found affairs in a state very different from what he had expected, and perceived that nothing was to be done to any purpose, before he had well acquainted himself with the country in which he was to act. He found, likewise, that his newly-raised men were altogether unfit for action, till they were seasoned to the climate, and inured to military discipline. These considerations prevented him from marching directly to Ulster, lest the Earl of Tyrone should take advantage of his weakness;

passion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive: what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels' pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body: which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

—‘ Happy, could he finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk! Then should he sleep secure;
Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
Content with hips, and haws, and bramble-berry!
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry:
When he dies, his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush.

‘ Your Majesty’s exiled servant,

‘ ROBERT ESSEX.’

and the council desiring that he would suppress some disorders in Munster, he thought this a fair occasion of exercising his raw recruits.

On his return to Dublin, he addressed a letter to the Queen, containing a free and full representation* of the state of things in Ireland. Elizabeth, provoked that he had not immediately marched into Ulster to attack Tyrone, repeated her orders upon that head in the strongest terms. Before these arrived however, Sir Henry Harrington, with some of the fresh troops, had been worsted by an inferior number of the O'Briens; which so exasperated Essex, though naturally far from being severe or cruel, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men.

Having received his Sovereign's commands, he was on the point of marching into Ulster, when he was prevailed upon to enter the county of Ophally, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moores. This he performed; but with so considerable a diminution of his forces, that by the advice of the Irish council he wrote home for a supply of two thousand men. In the midst of these disasters, an army was suddenly raised in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; the enemies of Essex having suggested to the Queen, that 'he rather meditated an invasion of his native country, than the reduction of the Irish rebels.'

At length Essex, intending to proceed directly to Ulster, sent orders to Sir Conyers Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to approach the enemy

* This admirable performance, pointing out all the measures which were subsequently adopted, and by which his successor put an end to the war, remains upon record in that country.

on that side, that Tyrone might be obliged to divide his forces. Unfortunately, in the execution of this movement, the English were defeated, with the loss of their commander-in-chief. This fresh disappointment, however, did not prevent Essex from marching against Tyrone, as soon as the reinforcement from England arrived. Yet, even with this augmentation, his army was considerably inferior to that of the foe; and, to add to his distress, a general dislike to the service prevailing among his troops, many deserted, and others counterfeited sickness. From the advance, also, of the season he was unable to bring on a decisive action with Tyrone,* who, possessed of all the strong-holds, seemed resolved to harass the English by fatiguing marches and counter-marches, and to avoid a battle by every stratagem of war.

Thus circumstanced, he accepted the proposal of a conference with the rebel chieftain, who had sent an express to him for that purpose. The generals, according to agreement, met alone, at some distance from their camps, which were formed on the opposite banks of a river.

Tyrone, as a mark of respect to the Lord Lieutenant, advanced from his side of the ford of Ballyclynch into the river, saddle-deep; and being then within hearing, he conferred with Essex, who remained on the opposite bank. At this interview, which took place on the eighth of September, a truce

* That gallant skirmishes, however, occasionally took place, we may infer from the rewards bestowed by Essex upon some of his officers. Among others, Sir Hewitt Osborne, grandfather of Thomas first Duke of Leeds, received the honour of knighthood at his hands, for his valiant behaviour at Maynooth.

was concluded till the first of May, to be renewed however every six weeks, and to be broken off by either party at their option, upon giving fourteen days' notice from the expiration of any of the intermediate periods. The policy of Essex, in this reserved condition, is evident: his object being to gain time to repair to England, in order to counteract the designs of his enemies; and to enable himself, if the Queen should blame him for having treated with Tyrone,* to declare that he could renew the war, whenever her Majesty should think proper, in a few days.

His artifice, however, appeared to Elizabeth such an unwarrantable stretch of power in a subject, that she readily, upon the united suggestions of Nottingham, Cecil, and Raleigh, conceived this treaty was intended to mask a treasonable design of invading England with the assistance of Tyrone's army.† Be that as it may, he certainly took a

* That she highly resented this interview is obvious, from the circumstance of her anger having overflowed upon "that witty fellow, her godson," Sir John Harrington, who had accompanied Essex into Ireland, and had received from him the honour of knighthood in that kingdom. There was indeed, as he observes in a letter to Sir Antony Stander, "neither rhyme nor reason to punish him for going to see Tyrone;" and therefore, Elizabeth "herself being accuser, judge, and witness," and "tempering majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour," most admirably, he was in a few days "graciously dismissed." But his account proves, how deeply and truly she was affected upon the occasion: "She is quite disfavoured and unattired, and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth every costly cover, that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage.—She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage."

† As these ministers had the chief administration of public

step, immediately after his treaty with Tyrone, which was extremely censurable: for quitting the supreme command with which his royal mistress had invested him, and leaving the affairs of Ireland in their very unsettled state, he returned privately home at the very instant, when he had received instructions from the privy-council to act with increased vigour against the rebels in that kingdom.

He arrived in England, at a moment when the Queen had not the slightest suspicion of his rash design; and by riding night and day he reached the court, before any intelligence could be conveyed to his enemies. His eagerness indeed to see Elizabeth was so great, that without staying to change his dress, he entered her bed-chamber, when she was but just risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He instantly fell on his knees at her feet, kissed her hand, and entreated a private conference; in which he so successfully urged his cause, that he withdrew with visible marks of satisfaction, and was heard to say, ‘though he had met with storms abroad, he had found a sweet calm at home.’

But as soon as the news of his reception reached the ear of the High Admiral, and Cecil (now Lord Treasurer) they repaired to court, and assigned

affairs, and had constantly opposed his measures, it is not at all surprising, that their personal fears should have made them suspect too much. Especially since Essex had openly declared ‘he would use every means in his power to remove them from the Queen’s councils.’ Yet some of our most respectable historians seem to think, that unlawful stipulations actually took place between Tyrone and Essex at their private meeting; and from their not permitting any of their usual attendants to be present, a presumptive proof of treason is adduced.

such motives for his journey, that upon his return to her Majesty in the afternoon, she not only received him with coolness, but ordered him to be confined to his house, and to submit his whole conduct to the examination of the privy-council: in consequence of which, he was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper Egerton. All intercourse, likewise, was forbidden between him and his friends, even by letters, nor was his countess herself permitted to see him.


At this time, it is probable the Queen would have been appeased, if he had craved her pardon, and returned to Ireland; nor is it suspected, that his enemies entertained any other design against him, than that of keeping him at a distance from court. But his pride was too deeply wounded: and though he apparently behaved with the utmost humility, he was so struck with her Majesty's change of behaviour, that it threw him into a dangerous illness; upon which, Elizabeth relented. She even went so far, as to send messages to him, and assured him, that 'if it could have been done consistently with her honour, she would have visited him.' This kindness, as his disorder proceeded from grief and vexation, restored him to health, after he had lain in a languishing condition nearly three months.

In the summer of 1600, he recovered his liberty; and in the autumn following he made Mr. Cuffe, a man of daring and arrogant character, who had been his Secretary in Ireland, his chief confidant. This adviser laboured to convince him, that 'submission would do him no good; that her Majesty was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and that the only way to restore his fortune was, to find the

means at any rate of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to represent his own case.' He listened, however, to this dangerous advice without consenting to it, till he despaired of getting his Farming of the Sweet Wines renewed : upon which, among other extravagant expressions, he observed, " that the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was as crooked as her carcase." This, as Camden informs us, was aggravated by some of the court-ladies, whom he had disappointed in their intrigues. He, also, carried on a secret correspondence with James VI., King of Scotland, the object of which was to procure a public declaration of his right of succession to the English throne ; and he would even have engaged his friend Lord Mountjoy, Deputy of Ireland, to bring over troops in order to compel the measure. But his zeal in this matter, however imprudent, appears completely to acquit him of any intention of claiming the crown for himself, with which he has been charged : although some of his sanguine partisans, in reference to his maternal descent, injudiciously brought forward his name.

His fortune having now reached it's crisis, and he himself being ripened for the most desperate projects, a conspiracy was formed in his little circle to seize the person of Elizabeth, remove from her his enemies, and settle a new plan of government. Those enemies, who had exact intelligence of all his measures, hurried him upon his fate by a message sent on the evening of the seventh of February, 1601, requiring him to attend the council, which he declined. He then announced, that they sought his life, kept a watch in Essex-House all night, and summoned his friends for his defence the next morning.

The Queen, apprised of the great resort of people of all ranks to his mansion, sent the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Worcester, Sir Francis Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice Popham, to learn his grievances. These envoys, after a short and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sands, Lord Monteagle, and about two hundred gentlemen, proceeded into the city, where the Earl of Bedford, Lord Cromwell, and some other gentlemen joined his party. But his dependence on the populace failed him; and Cecil having prevailed upon his brother, Lord Burghley, to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick (then King at Arms) and proclaim Essex and his adherents ‘traitors’ in the principal streets, he found it impossible to reach his house by land: upon which, he despatched Sir Ferdinando Gorges to release the Chief Justice; and with his principal attendants, returned home by water. The house was quickly invested with a large force by the Earl of Nottingham, to whom, after some blood spilt, he and his associates at last surrendered themselves. He was carried that night, with his friend the Earl of Southampton,* to the Archbishop of Can-

* As a proof at once of Essex’s true piety, and of his genuine friendship, I have added one of his letters to this nobleman: 

‘ MY LORD,

‘ As neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of compliment, so now I shall have less will than ever for to use such ceremonies, when I have left with Martha to be *solicitus circa multa*, and believe with Mary, *unum sufficit*. But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave-taking, when in man’s reason many accidents may keep them

terbury's palace at Lambeth; and, the next day, they were both conveyed to the Tower.

long divided, or perhaps bar them ever meeting till they meet in another world: for then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dear unto me, shall prosper and be happy wherever he goes, and whatever he takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that God, under whose protection there is only safety, and in whose service there is only true happiness to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or ability in this age, or in this state, to give glory to God, and to win honour to yourself, if you employ the talents you have received to their best use, I will now tell you. It sufficeth, that when I was farthest of all times from dissembling, I spake truly, and have witness enough; but these things only I will put your Lordship in mind of:

‘ First, That you have nothing, that you have not received.

‘ Secondly, That you possess them not as lord over them, but as an accomptant for them.

‘ Thirdly, If you employ them to serve this world, or your own worldly delights (which the prince of this world will seek to entertain you with) it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea, it is perfidious treachery. For what would you think of such a servant of yours, that should convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or service of your greatest enemy: and what do you less than this with God, since you have all from him, and know that the world, and the princes thereof, are at a continual enmity with him? And therefore, if ever the admonition of your true friend shall be heard by you, or if your country, which you may serve in so great and many things, be dear unto you; if your God, whom you must (if you deal truly with yourself) acknowledge to be powerful over all, and just in all, be feared by you; yea, if you be dear unto yourself, and prefer an everlasting happiness before a pleasant dream, which you must shortly awake out of, and then repent in the bitterness of your soul: if any of these things be regarded by you, then I say, call yourself to account for what is past, cancel the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your God, to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts and

Great pains were now taken by his chaplains, to draw from him copious confessions, which was the

abilities ; and then he that is faithful, and *cannot lie*, hath promised to *honour them that honour him*. He will give you that inward peace of soul, and true joy of heart, which till you have, you shall never rest ; and which, when you have, you shall never be shaken, and which you can never attain to, any other way than this I have showed you. I know your Lordship may say to yourself, and object to me, ‘ this is but a vapour of melancholy, and the stile of a prisoner, and that I was far enough from it, when I lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again, when my fetters be taken from me.’ I answer, ‘ though your Lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my God, that his mercy will fail me, or his grace forsake me. I have so deeply engaged myself, that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was : I have so avowed my profession, and called so many from time to time to witness it, and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the hollowest hypocrite that ever was born.’ But though I should perish in my own sin, and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the grace and mercy in God which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example ? I was longer a slave and servant to the world, and the corruptions of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them slowly ; thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it : and therefore I have been, by God’s providence, violently pulled, hauled, and dragged to the marriage-feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge, when I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be *beaten with double stripes* : God grant your Lordship may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned conversion, but that you may never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying ‘. I had none but divines to cull upon me, to whom I said, ‘ if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble ; or, if my delights had been tasted by

more easy, as he was a man of sincere piety; and being once persuaded that his project was of a treasonable nature, he conscientiously disclosed all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends without doing any good to himself: which, indeed, he did not appear either to design, or to desire that it should.

On the nineteenth of February, he and Southampton were brought to their trial before twenty-five peers, who unanimously found them guilty of high-treason. Southampton received his sentence as a man sensible of the crime, of which he had been guilty. Serene and submissive, he entreated the good offices of his brother-nobles in such pathetic terms, that to them most probably he owed his pardon; as he had previously laboured under the Queen's displeasure, in consequence of having married without her consent. Essex, on the contrary,

them, they could not have been so precise:’ but your Lordship hath one to call upon you, that knows what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of all the contentments that this world can afford. Think therefore, dear Earl, that I have stated and buoyed all the ways of pleasure to you, and left them as sea-marks for you to keep the channel of religious virtue: for shut your eyes never so long, they must be open at last; then you must say with me, *there is no peace to the wicked*. I will make a covenant with my soul, not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my God, that your Lordship may believe and make profit of this plain but faithful admonition: and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you, and yourself successful in all you take in hand: which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

Your Lordship’s cousin and true friend,

whom no worldly cause can divide from you,

ESSEX.

haughtily declared, that ‘he was prepared to die;’ and, though he would not wish to have it represented to Elizabeth that he despised her clemency, he desired it might be understood, that he should not by any mean concessions condescend to solicit it. “If (said he) “her Majesty had pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service: but I shall be glad, if it may prove serviceable to her any way.”

Shortly after his condemnation, however, relaxing as to the obstinate denial of his guilt, he made an ample confession of the conspiracy to Ashton his chaplain, and was reconciled to Sir Robert Cecil, whom he justly considered as his greatest enemy.*

By this disclosure the condemned Earl incurred a blemish upon his character, independently of his public conduct, which turned the tide of his popularity. His confession proved fatal to several, who had not the least apprehension of being thus betrayed by their seducer. Among others Lord Mountjoy, at that time resident in France, was recalled, and committed to the Tower. Nor is it improbable, that the high spirit of Essex suggested to him this method of saving his life, as less degrading than that of soliciting mercy: the discovery of the plot he might deem a service, which entitled him to pardon as a matter of right. However this may be, it was

* This statesman possessed the political abilities of his father, without his integrity; so that his talents were sometimes abused to ill purposes, more particularly in the case of the Earl of Essex, whose ruin he occasioned by his intrigues. (See his Life.) He is even charged with having determined that noleman, by a most unwarrantable step, to quit Ireland with precipitation, by stopping all the ships bound thither, except one, which by his orders circulated a false report of the Queen's death: an event, which he knew would make Essex instantly hurry home.

natural for Elizabeth to feel some reluctance in signing the warrant for the execution of a nobleman, who had been so dear to her; who, notwithstanding all his foibles, had upon various occasions rendered the nation signal service; and who had so lately shone the pride, and the ornament, of the English court. But after vainly waiting a few days, with the hope that he would sue for a pardon, exasperated at his pride she issued the order for his execution; in-joining only, in compliance with his wish, that it should be as private as possible. A scaffold was, accordingly, prepared in the inner court of the Tower; and he was beheaded February 25, 1601, only a few aldermen and noblemen attending. His behaviour, in his last moments, was truly penitent. He expressed neither solicitude for life, nor fear of death: but in the infliction of his sentence he must have suffered great agony; as the executioner gave him three blows with the axe, before he severed his head from his body.*

Thus in the thirty-fourth year of his age fell the gallant Earl of Essex, whose military glory, zeal for

* The dying speech of Mr. Cuffe, his secretary, who was executed for the same offence which brought his master to the block, is worthy of being here inserted:

"I am here adjudged to die for acting an act never plotted, for plotting a plot never acted. Justice will have her course; accusers must be heard; greatness will have the victory; scholars and martial men (though learning and valour should have the pre-eminence) in England must die like dogs, and be hanged. To mislike this, were but folly; to dispute it, but time lost; to alter it, impossible: but to endure it, is manly; and to scorn it, magnanimity. The Queen is displeased, the lawyers injurious, and death terrible: but I crave pardon of the Queen; forgive the lawyers, and the world; desire to be forgiven; and welcome death."

the true interests of his country, openness of disposition, and other eminent virtues would have rendered him one of the most splendid of characters; had not ambition, self-conceit, and impetuosity of temper, which are but too frequently the companions of early prosperity, triumphed over his reason, his integrity, and his allegiance.

His royal mistress did not long survive this domestic calamity. The ill state of health indeed, into which she soon afterward fell, has by most historians been attributed to a confession made to her, concerning Essex, by the Countess of Nottingham on her death-bed.*

This inconsiderate and presumptuous, but honest and heroic, man was a liberal patron of learning. He erected a monument to Spenser, gave an estate to Bacon, for which he was basely requited, and took into his service Wotton and other men of learning. He was himself, also, an author; and several small tracts written by him have obtained for his name a place in Walpole's 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.' He was much courted, likewise, by the poets of his time, and was the subject of numerous sonnets, and popular ballads. "I could produce evidence," says Mr. Warton, "that he scarcely ever went out of England, or even left London, upon the most frivolous enterprise without a pastoral in his praise, or a panegyric in metre, which were sold and sung in the streets."

* For the particulars of this interview, see the Life of the Earl of Nottingham, who (it must be remembered) after the fall of Essex, was Elizabeth's principal confidant, and in fact her first minister of state.

As a specimen of his own versification, the following sonnet is subjoined, extracted from a MS. in the British Museum :

VERSES MADE BY THE EARL OF ESSEX, IN HIS TROUBLES.

The ways on earth have paths and turnings known ;
 The ways on sea are gone by needle's light :
 The birds of th' air the nearest way have flown ;
 And under earth the moles do cast aright.
 A way more hard than these I needs must take,
 Where none can teach, nor no man can direct :
 Where no man's good for me example makes ;
 But all men's faults do teach her to suspect.
 Her thoughts and mine such disproportion have—
 All strength of love is infinite in me :
 She us'th th' advantage time and fortune gave,
 Of worth and power to get the liberty.
 Earth, sea, heaven, hell are subject unto laws ;
 But I, poor I, must suffer, and know no cause.

R. E. E.

His son Robert served with reputation in the wars of the Low Countries ; and was one of the few noblemen, in the parliaments of a later reign, who dared to attack (or, at least, to keep at bay) what Sir Edward Coke called, ' the great monster,' the prerogative. But he appeared to the highest advantage in the field.

CHARLES HOWARD,
 EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,
 AND LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.*

[1536—1603.]

THIS nobleman was the son of Thomas Howard, created by Queen Mary in 1554 Baron of Effingham in Surry, and raised to the dignity of Lord High Admiral; in which office he was continued by Elizabeth, till age and infirmities rendering him unfit for so active a department, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and died in 1572. Charles, his only son, was born in 1536, and in his youth discovering an inclination for the sea-service, was taken by his father upon some cruising voyages during Mary's reign. In the second year of Elizabeth, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to compliment Charles IX. upon his accession to the throne of France. In 1569, he was made General of the Horse under the Earl of Sussex, Warden of the Northern Marches, on occasion of the insurrection raised by the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland in favour of the

* AUTHORITIES. Salmon's *Chronological Historian*; Hume's *History of England*; Birch's *Memoirs, &c. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*; and Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*.

Queen of Scots. In this service, he signally contributed to the suppression of the rebellion; having obliged Westmoreland to take refuge in Scotland, before the arrival of reinforcements under the Earl of Warwick, which however enabled them to complete their conquest.

In 1570, he was appointed to the command of ten ships of the line, with instructions to receive the Imperial and Spanish fleets, which were to convoy the Emperor's sister (Anne of Austria) to the coast of Spain, and to escort them through the British Channel. Upon this occasion, he gallantly maintained the privileges of the national flag by obliging the two fleets, consisting of one hundred and fifty sail, to pay him the compliment of striking their colours in the English seas: after which, he showed every mark of courtesy to the princess and her attendants. In the following year, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Surry; but he did not remain long a commoner. Upon his father's death, he took his seat in the Upper House; and from this time the Queen gradually raised him to the most honourable employments of the state. Soon after his succession to the peerage, he was made Lord Chamberlain, and in 1573 installed a Knight of the Garter. In addition to the smiles of his royal mistress he enjoyed the affections of the people, by whom he was eminently esteemed for his affability, hospitality, and other social virtues. In 1585, upon the death of the Earl of Lincoln, he was constituted Lord High Admiral of England.

This important department at all times requires great abilities, and cool judgement; nor could he

have succeeded to it at any time, when the exertion of such talents was more wanted: for Philip II. of Spain was now projecting the subversion of the Protestant religion in Europe; as a preliminary step to which, England was to be invaded and conquered, in resentment for the assistance given by her to the United Provinces upon their revolt from the Spanish government. But the preparations for this important enterprise, though carried on with the utmost secrecy, could not escape the notice of Walsingham, by whom they had been detected as early as the year 1584. Soon after the appointment of Effingham, however, as Lord High Admiral, the designs of the Spanish court were openly avowed; and the election of a Protestant princess to fill the throne of England being deemed by the Papists null and void, the Jesuits encouraged Philip boldly to assert his own claim to it through John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. The only bar to his title, as Elizabeth had been deposed by the bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII., was the nearer consanguinity of the Queen of Scots; and this Mary was easily persuaded to waive in favour of the Spanish monarch, as the only means of restoring Popery in Britain. The whole project being developed in a letter from Philip to Gregory XIII., of which a copy was transmitted to Walsingham by a Venetian priest,* Effingham sent Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz, to interrupt and retard the preparations. In the mean time, he occupied himself indefatigably

* See the Life of Walsingham, p. 113.

in augmenting the royal navy.* Every commercial town in England was required to furnish a specified number of ships, proportioned to their respective abilities: but the general zeal in most places outran the stipulated demand; the city of London, in particular, fitting out double the number required as it's quota. The principal nobility and gentry, likewise, formed associations in all parts of the kingdom, and produced forty-three ships completely armed, manned, and victualled for sea.

At last the Spanish fleet, proudly called 'The Invincible Armada,' set sail from the port of Lisbon June 3, 1588. It consisted of 92 galleons or large ships of the line, 4 galliasses, 30 frigates, 30 transports with cavalry, and 4 galleys. The force on board amounted to 19,290 regular troops, 8,350 marines, and 2,080 galley-slaves, provided with 2,630 pieces of ordnance. The whole was placed under the command of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, as Admiral in chief: Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo, an experienced naval officer, was Vice-Admiral, and almost every noble family in Spain had one or more relations embarked as volunteers upon the occasion. Still farther to insure success, Philip ordered the Duke of Parma to provide transports to convey from the Netherlands an army of 25,000 men, at that time quartered in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieupert. At Dunkirk, likewise, 700

* This, only ten years before, consisted of no more than twenty-four ships, the largest of which was of the burthen of 100 tons, and the smallest under 60. In 1585, it had only received the addition of three ships, and the total number of effective seamen amounted barely to 14,295!

renegadoes, chiefly Irish and Scottish Papists, enlisted under the enemy's banners.

To oppose this mighty armament, Effingham sailed with a strong squadron to the West, where he was joined by his Vice-Admiral Sir Francis Drake : while Lord Henry Seymour, the second son of the Duke of Somerset, with another squadron cruised along the coasts of Flanders, to prevent the embarkation of the troops under the Duke of Parma.*

About the twelfth of July the Armada, which had been forced back by a storm, set sail a second time for England, and after a week's tempestuous passage appeared off the western shore ; where the general consternation was greatly increased by observing the size of the Spanish galleons, which appeared like floating castles, their upper works being three feet thick. The primary design of the Spanish Admiral was, to attempt burning the English vessels in their harbours, as he had no idea that they would venture to put to sea : but being discovered off the Lizard by one Fleming, a Scottish pirate, this man instantly bore away for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the different squadrons then cruising to watch the enemy's motions, and fortunately arrived in time † to enable the Lord Admiral to prepare what measures he thought proper. His first object was, to get the ships out of harbour without loss of time. With this view, he both worked himself, and personally gave orders to the other officers ; which so animated all the

* For the proceedings by land, see the Life of the Earl of Leicester.

† Fleming was afterward pardoned on Effingham's intercession, and received an annual pension for the seasonableness and the speed of his intelligence.

crews, that on the morning of the twentieth of July he got clear off the port with thirty sail of the line. He now descried the Spanish fleet; but he suffered them to pass without appearing to notice them, that with the wind in his favour, he might bear down upon their rear. These huge masses, though with all their sails spread, moved unwieldily along: a circumstance highly advantageous to the English Admiral, who with his light vessels, in the event of his being worsted, could securely have effected his retreat. He took care however to inform her Majesty, by a special messenger, of the arrival of the enemy, the superiority of their force, and his own plan of attack; desiring her at the same time to make the proper dispositions by land, in case the Spaniards should disembark any troops, and to order the other squadrons to join him with all possible expedition. Having taken these prudent precautions, he resolved to bring the enemy to action, with a view of diminishing the terror, which the sight of their large galleons had created. He soon fell in with the rear-division, commanded by Don Ricaldo, and the event fully answered his purpose: for perceiving that the Spanish Admiral in the centre, and Don Alphonso de Levyra commander of the van, were preparing to surround him, he made his retreat in excellent order; thus convincing both his officers and his men, how easily they could manage their own ships, and either attack or evade those of their adversaries.

The Spaniards, after several unfavourable skirmishes, finding the English fleet more numerous and powerful than it had been represented, suddenly tacked about, and made for Calais. The Lord Admiral then held a council of war, and after having

conferred the honour of knighthood on Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and three other principal officers, proposed to pursue them; a measure which he was farther induced to adopt, from the prospect of being joined by the squadrons stationed, under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter, off the coast of Flanders. Accordingly, the council concurring in his opinion, he gave chase; and being joined (as he had anticipated) by the other armaments, on the twenty-seventh, in the Straits of Calais, he had now under his command one hundred and forty sail. This force however was still inferior to the Armada, which lay at anchor off Calais, disposed in such order, that Effingham saw there were no hopes of attacking them in different divisions, as he had proposed, unless some stratagem could be devised to throw them previously into disorder. With this view, he converted eight of his worst barks into fire-ships,* which being convoyed by two experienced captains, about midnight steered with sails set for the Spanish fleet. In the confusion occasioned by this unexpected manœuvre, some of the enemy fell foul of each other, after cutting their cables; others got up their anchors, and put to sea to avoid the flames, which had already in several instances caught the rigging: and in this state, as soon as dawn appeared, the English falling upon them took, or destroyed, twelve of their largest ships. The Spaniards, in their dismay, now endeavoured to make their escape through the Straits of Dover; but adverse winds drove them on the coast of Zealand, where their Admiral narrowly

* This was the first introduction of fire-ships in the English navy.

escaped shipwreck. After this, they determined to effect their retreat by sailing round the island north; but here encountered by a second storm, the Commander with twenty-five sail steered for the Bay of Biscay, and left the wretched remains of his 'Invincible Armada' to the mercy of their foes. Upward of thirty of their best ships perished on the Irish coast; others were driven on shore in the Orkneys, and several were taken by Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake. Of their whole fleet, only fifty-four returned to Spain, and those in an extremely shattered condition. In this fatal expedition likewise, it is computed, they lost 25,000 men, including such numbers of volunteers of distinguished rank, that most of the noble families in Spain went into mourning. The English Admiral, after he had cleared the channel of the enemy, returned triumphant to the Downs. Elizabeth repaired publicly to the Cathedral of St. Paul's, and there by a solemn thanksgiving expressed her gratitude to God for her signal deliverance; and as Effingham's genius, judgement, and valour had greatly contributed to her success, she rewarded him with a pension for life.*

His next important service was against Cadiz, **which** was taken by the fleet and the land-forces, under the Earl of Essex in August, 1596. Upon this occasion, beside two rich galleons, thirteen men of war and a hundred pieces of brass cannon fell into the hands of the English. The Lord High Admiral refused, at the same time, a ransom of two millions of ducats for the merchant-ships in Port-Real;

* Upon this occasion likewise, she ordered a medal to be struck with the inscription, *Afflavit Deus, et dissipavitur.*

his instructions being to "consume, and not to compound," with a view of intercepting the early probability of a second invasion. On his return from this service, Elizabeth, attributing the honour of the achievement chiefly to his exertions, created him Earl of Nottingham. This gave birth to the quarrel between the Admiral and Essex, which ended only with the death of the latter.

In 1599, the nation was alarmed with the project of another Spanish invasion; and Essex being in Ireland, the Queen, to manifest her entire confidence in Nottingham, gave him the command of her fleets and armies with the addition of a new title, as Lieutenant-General of all England, investing him with more ample powers than had ever before been granted to any subject. But this extraordinary commission expired with the occasion, which gave birth to it. However, he became her chief minister soon afterward, and by the death of Essex the sole administrator of the government. To pave the way to this high station, it is strongly suspected that he aggravated every act of rashness committed by his impetuous rival, and widened the quarrel between him and his royal mistress into an irreparable breach.

From the moment that Essex surrendered himself, Elizabeth, who had been terrified by so daring an insurrection in the heart of her capital, was extravagant in her praises of the Lord Admiral, and publicly declared that 'he was born to be the saviour of his country.' Thus raised to the summit of his ambition, and not very unreasonably fearing a relapse on the part of the Queen in behalf of her old favourite, he too probably intercepted the token sent by that unfortunate nobleman on his last application for mercy.

For many years after the event, the following remarkable anecdote was discredited by our best historians: but later discoveries have left little room to doubt it's truth. Essex, soon after his return from his successful expedition against Cadiz, grew extremely jealous of being supplanted in the royal favour; and accordingly resolved to secure himself against such reverse, while the Queen's attachment to him remained in it's full vigour. With this view having obtained a private audience, he took occasion to regret, that 'her Majesty's service should so frequently oblige him to be absent from her person; by which he was exposed to all those ill offices, which his enemies, in the course of their constant attendance upon her, had it in their power to do him by misrepresentations of his conduct.' Elizabeth, greatly moved by his remonstrances, took a ring (it is said) from her finger, and desired him to keep it as a pledge of her affection; assuring him, that 'whatever prejudices she might be induced to conceive against him, if he sent her that ring, she should instantly call to mind her former regard, and grant him all his requests.*' After sentence of death had been passed upon him, it is well known that he requested the favour of a visit from the Countess of Nottingham, at that time principal lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen; wishing perhaps through her hands to transmit this ring to her Majesty, and at the same

The reader will recollect, that Henry VIII. acted thus in the case of Archbishop Cranmer; and he will farther observe, that in many instances Elizabeth affected to imitate her father. This circumstance, which has escaped the notice of our historians in their warm contests upon the credibility of this story, is a presumptive proof of it's authenticity.

time to crave her intercession in his favour. The Countess, unhappily, was prevailed upon by her husband to suppress her commission : and the Queen, who hourly expected this last appeal, found various excuses to delay signing the warrant for the execution of Essex ; till female resentment, seconding Cecil's importunities, induced her at last, with great reluctance, to consent to his death.

Toward the close of the year 1602 the Countess of Nottingham, finding her dissolution fast approaching, despatched a special messenger to entreat a private visit from Elizabeth, alleging that ' she had something of importance to impart to her Majesty.' At this interview, she revealed the fatal secret, imploring at the same time her royal mistress' forgiveness. She implored it in vain : the Queen, in the transport of her rage shook the dying lady in her bed, and exclaiming with great vehemence, " God may forgive you, but I cannot," rushed out of the apartment.

To her rage succeeded a deep melancholy, which visibly preyed upon her strength : still, however, she affected to conceal it, and caused her inauguration-day to be observed with the usual magnificence. But the courtiers, according to custom, beginning already to turn their eyes to the young king of Scotland, her presumptive heir, she was heard to lament in bitter terms that ' she was neglected, betrayed, and deserted.' And, when she found the pardon of the Earl of Tyrone pressed upon her by the very ministers who had urged her to refuse that of Essex, she could not forbear instituting a comparison between the guilt of the arch-rebel who had desolated a considerable part of Ireland, and the single act of mad desperation committed by her executed favourite.

She now utterly neglected the care of her health, removing from Westminster to her palace at Sheen in very tempestuous weather on the last day of January, 1603. Here she continued languishing, in a most deplorable condition, nearly two months; occasionally however joining in prayers with Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was constantly in waiting: and on the twenty-third of March, she breathed her last.*

It remains only to observe, that Nottingham's zeal in the affair of the succession procured for him the honour of officiating as High Steward at the coronation of James I.; that he was sent on a splendid embassy to Spain, to conclude a treaty of friendship with that crown; and that subsequently, resigning his office of Lord High Admiral to Villiers Duke of Buckingham, he retired into the country, where he died in 1624.

He was a great lover of magnificence, we are informed by Fuller, having no less than "seven standing houses at the same time;" and, in his embassy to Spain, being attended by a splendid train of five hundred persons. The ignorant Spaniards, who had heard much of the Kentish long-tails and other monsters in this nation of 'heretics,' were astonished when he made his public entry, not only at seeing the human form, but at seeing it in superior health and beauty † to what it appeared in their own country.

* A minute detail of her concluding moments is given in the interesting '*Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth.*' See the *Life of Stuckville*, p. 271.

† It is observable, that M. Buffon includes the seat of beauty within two particular latitudes, so as to comprehend the greatest part of France, and to exclude England!

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.*

[1536—1608.]

THOMAS SACKVILLE, the son of Richard Sackville Esq. by Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges Lord-Mayor of London (who afterward married Powlet, Marquis of Winchester) was born at Buckhurst in the parish of Withiam, Sussex, the seat of the ancient family of the Sackvilles, in 1536. Toward the latter end of the reign of Edward VI., he was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford; but he subsequently removed to Cambridge, where he took the degree of M. A. Thence he migrated to London, and entered himself a member of the Inner Temple; not with a view of following the profession of the law, but in order to qualify himself, by the study of it, for the service of his country in parliament.

Near the close of Mary's reign, he obtained a seat in the House of Commons; and having now become a public character, he in some degree neglected the Muses, to whom he had previously devoted so considerable a portion of his leisure, that at the Univer-

* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; and Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*.

sity he had been deemed a good poet, and during his residence in the Temple had established his reputation by his ‘Induction, (or Introduction) to a Mirror for Magistrates,’ published in 1557. This work, exhibiting examples of bad men in high stations, who terminated their lives in misery or infamy from the Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, was highly admired at the time of its publication, and with justice; as in Warton’s judgement it ‘approaches nearer to the Fairy Queen in the richness of allegoric description, than any previous or succeeding poem.’*

In 1561, he produced a tragedy (the first, which deserved that name in the language) entitled, ‘Ferreus and Porreus, the two sons of Gorboduc, king of Britain;’† in which, however, he was assisted by Thomas Norton (a fellow-labourer of Hopkins and Sternhold) who, according to Wood’s doubtful statement, wrote the three first acts. This was received with great applause by the public, after it had been performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. Sir Philip Sidney, in his ‘Defence of Poesy,’ gives the following character of it: “Gorboduc is full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca’s stile; and as full of notable mo-

* It was completed, through his recommendation, by Richard Baldwyn and George Ferrers; who invited to their assistance Churchyard, Phayer, and other men of wit and genius, and printed it in 4to in 1559, under the title of ‘A Myrroure for Magistrates, &c.’

† The title was subsequently, in 1590, changed to ‘Gorboduc;’ and several spurious impressions being circulated by the booksellers, the author published a correct edition of it in 1570.

rality, which it doth most delightfully teach, and thereby obtains the very end of poetry." Whoever indeed reads it with attention, and considers the infant state of English poetry at the time of it's appearance, must allow that it merited the pains taken by Pope and Spence to retrieve it from oblivion by recommending it to the manager of Drury-Lane Theatre in 1736, where it met with considerable success. *

In the first parliament of Elizabeth; Mr. Sackville was elected knight of the shire for the county of Sussex, his father being chosen at the same time for Kent; and in the second parliament of that reign, the father was returned for Sussex, and the son for Buckinghamshire. About this time he visited France and Italy, and during his tour was imprisoned at Rome. In 1566, however, receiving in this situation the news of his father's death, he procured his release. Hence it may be inferred, as he was now in possession of a large estate, that it was some affair of debt, for which he was enabled to offer security, and thus obtained leave to return home.

The Queen gave him a most gracious reception, and after conferring upon him in 1567 the honour of knighthood by the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, raised him to the dignity of a peer, with the title of Lord Buckhurst. But the same extravagance, which most probably had involved him in difficulties abroad, accompanied him to England; and to supply the means of his sumptuous expenditure, he was obliged to borrow money upon usurious

* The same year, Mr. Spence published a new edition of it, which is the best.

terms. By this circumstance, however, he was eventually reclaimed: for being one day insolently kept waiting at the house of an alderman of London, who had advanced him great sums, in order to escape similar insults in future he became an economist; and the Queen receiving him into particular favour,* he was shortly afterward enabled to extricate himself from all his difficulties.

In 1571, he was sent Ambassador to Charles IX. King of France, to congratulate that Monarch upon his union with the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and to negotiate at the same time a treaty of marriage between the Duke of Anjou and his own Sovereign. In 1586, being then of her Majesty's cabinet-council, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots; and when the parliament had confirmed the sentence of death passed upon that princess, he was selected to inform her of it, and to see it carried into execution.

In 1587, Elizabeth despatched him as her Ambassador Extraordinary, to settle the disputes which had arisen between the United Provinces and the Earl of Leicester; and with his management of this delicate trust the States-General expressed themselves highly satisfied. Lord Leicester however, refusing to submit to his prudent compromise, appealed to the Queen, who not only recalled her envoy, but confined him to his house nearly a twelve-month; and it was not till the death of that powerful nobleman, that he was restored to favour, and advanced

* Not only his merit, but his affinity, recommended him to Elizabeth, his grandfather having married the sister of Sir Thomas Bolcyn, the Queen's maternal grandfather.

to new honours. In 1590, he was made a Knight of the Garter; and the following year, by Elizabeth's express recommendation, in opposition to Essex (the object of her capricious passion) elected Chancellor of Oxford; upon which occasion, as a mark of her royal approbation, she visited the University in 1592, and for many days partook of the entertainments and banquets prepared for her by the new Chancellor.

In 1598, he was employed with Lord Burghley to negotiate a peace with Spain, which so much alarmed the Dutch, that they sent ambassadors to England to renew with her their treaties of alliance and commerce. But instead of listening to them, as he had formerly done when he thought the Earl of Leicester in the wrong, he proposed terms more advantageous for England, to which they readily acceded; among other stipulations, relieving the Queen from an annual subsidy of 120,000*l.*, which she had paid them for many years to enable them to support their independency, after they had shaken off the Spanish yoke. On the death of Lord Burghley in 1598, Lord Buckhurst, whose economy extended also to the public purse, succeeded to the office of Lord-High-Treasurer; and from this time had, either singly or in conjunction with Sir Robert Cecil, almost the entire management of public affairs till the fourth year of the following reign.*

* During this interval, he negotiated, in conjunction with Essex and Sir Thomas Egerton an alliance with Denmark; and when that unfortunate nobleman, with his friend Southampton, was brought to his trial, he presided as Lord High Steward.

As Elizabeth's health decayed, his constant correspondence with James VI. King of Scotland recommended him particularly to the favour of that monarch. In return for his assiduity, the new Sovereign granted him a patent to hold the office of Lord-Treasurer for life, and created him Earl of Dorset in the year 1604. He was, likewise, appointed one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl-Marshal of England. And in these high stations he invariably devoted his abilities to promote the welfare of his country, and to support the Protestant interest both at home and abroad. His last service, in this respect, was exerted in the negotiation of a peace between Spain and Holland; in which he secretly encouraged the Dutch to insist upon an acknowledgement of their independence, as an indispensable preliminary. But he did not live to see the treaty ratified; dying suddenly at the council-board in April, 1608.* The event, as the court swarmed with needy Scottish favourites, occasioned some slight suspicions concerning the cause of it; but, upon opening his head, his mortal disease was discovered to have been the hydrocephalus, or dropsy of the brain. He had perceived no extraordinary decay of health till the year before his death, when he was reduced so low, that his life was despaired of: upon which occasion the King sent him a gold ring set with diamonds, requiring him to wear it for his sake, and wishing 'he might speedily recover, and live as long as the diamonds of that ring should endure.'† His funeral

* The independence of the States, as acknowledged by Spain, was not proclaimed till 1609.

† This instance of James' affection and confidence is to be

sermon was preached by his chaplain, Dr. Abbot (subsequently, Archbishop of Canterbury) who was very lavish in his praise.

accounted for upon principles of policy. Lord Buckhurst and Sir Robert Cecil held the reins of government, when Elizabeth's health began to decline: their influence with foreign states, and their known attachment to the Protestant interest, engaged him to court their favour at that period; and his fear of a revival of the claim of the Suffolk family, upon whom the crown had been settled by the last will of Henry VIII. in the event of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth dying without issue, obliged him to continue his attentions. But when these sage counsellors were no more, the Scottish feeling speedily acquired the predominancy, and the mis-named 'Solomon' laid the foundation of a system, which ended in the ruin of his entire race.

The misfortunes of the Stuarts began, however, anterior to this period. They have been traced indeed, in an almost unbroken succession for nearly four centuries, from the time of Robert III. King of Scotland, who in 1423 broke his heart because his eldest son Robert was starved to death, and his younger (James) was made a captive, down to the present day.

That James, after having beheaded three of his nearest kindred was assassinated in 1437 by his uncle, who was tortured to death for it.

James II. perished, in 1460, by the bursting of a piece of ordnance.

In 1488, James III. flying from the field of battle was thrown from his horse, and murdered in the cottage, into which he had been carried for assistance.

James IV. fell at Flodden in 1513.

James V. died of grief, in 1542, for the wilful destruction of his army in Solway Moss.

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was assassinated.

Mary, his guilty consort, was beheaded in England in 1587.

Of James VI. (I. of England) the death, in 1625, has by many been imputed to poison.

In 1649 Charles I. was beheaded by his subjects.

Charles II. was, for many years, *fugitivus et erro.*

The character given of Lord Buckhurst by Sir Robert Naunton does him great honour. He represents him as a scholar, whose elocution was much commended, but his writings more; as a statesman, of undoubted abilities; and as a courtier, who steered clear of the factions of the times. Mr. Walpole finishes the portrait by remarking, that few first ministers have left so fair a reputation.

James II. in 1689 was cashiered, and languished out his life in exile.

Anne (for Mary forms, almost, the solitary exception) died in 1714 of a broken heart, occasioned by the feuds of her favourites.

And the posterity of this devoted line, after some desperate attempts at restoration, which only ended in their own personal dangers, the total dismay of their party, and the disastrous destruction of their more distinguished adherents, have remained wretched wanderers in foreign lands.

The fate of the successors of Charlemagne furnishes no very unequal parallel.

His son, Louis the Debonair, from a superstitious panic, died for want of food: Charles the Bald was poisoned by his physician: Louis the Stammerer, also, perished by the same fate: his brother, the King of Aquitaine, was mortally wounded on the head by one of his nobles, whom he was endeavouring to terrify in disguise; and his successor Louis III., pursuing in the streets of Tours a young woman whose beauty had charmed him, broke his back as he rode under the arch of a gateway. Carloman, like our own Rufus, fell by an ill-directed spear, thrown at a wild-boar. Charles the Fat was the victim of want, grief, and poison united. Charles the Simple died, in prison, of hunger and despair. Louis the Stranger was bruised to death in hunting: and Lothaire and Louis V., the two last kings of the race, were both poisoned by their adulterous wives.

At the end of the 230 years, there remained only Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who sunk beneath the fortune of the ambitious and active Hugh Capet, and ended his days and his line in the walls of a dungeon.

Amidst the intrigues of an artful court, he preserved the integrity of a private man. His family disdained the offer of an apology for him, against some little cavils of a rival party. In the exercise of his political functions, the brilliancy of his imagination grew more correct, not less abundant. His secretaries, we are told, ‘had difficulty to please him, he was so facete and choice in his stile.’ Even in the decisions of that rigid tribunal, the Star-Chamber, which was never esteemed the school of eloquence, ‘so strong (says Lloyd) was his invention, that he was called ‘the Star-Chamber Bell.’ Himself a poet, he encouraged the art, which he improved, by his liberality; and left his wit and protection of polite literature to his descendents, of whom was Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the well-known patron of Dryden and Prior:

——Whose great forefather’s every grace
Reflecting, and reflected in his race;
Where other Buckhursts, other Dorsets shine,
And poets still or patriots deck the line.

He was more courted, indeed, and complimented in verse than any nobleman of his time, except Essex; whose love of literature, heroism, integrity, and generosity, made him the theme of poetical panegyric, from Spenser down to the lowest rhymers.

The pretensions however of this “patriarch of a race of genius and wit,” as a poet, to the gratitude of posterity have not hitherto been fully allowed; though he may be considered as second only to Spenser, whom he preceded, in the perfection of his allegory; and to the unapproachable bard of Avon, in

his magic power of moving the passions, and the matchless excellence of his dramatic dialogue. To the heroic narratives indeed in his 'Induction,' the foundation of our Historic Plays, and to the boldness of his new scenes, "perhaps (says Walpole) we owe Shakspeare."

"The 'Induction,'" as Warton observes, "loses much of it's dignity and propriety, by being prefixed to a single life (that of Henry, Duke of Buckingham), and that of no great historical importance. The plan is, undoubtedly, copied from Boccace's '*De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*,' translated by Lydgate; the Descent into Hell, from Dante's '*Commedia*' and the sixth book of Virgil. The shadowy inhabitants of hell-gate are his own, and conceived with the vigour of a creative imagination, and described with great force of expression: they are delineated with that fulness of proportion, that invention of picturesque attributes, distinctness, animation, and amplitude, of which Spenser is commonly supposed to have given the first specimens in our language, and which are characteristic of his poetry. The readers of the 'Fairy Queen' will easily point out many particular passages, which Sackville's 'Induction' suggested to Spenser. The 'Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham,' is written with a force and even elegance of expression, a copiousness of phraseology, and an exactness of versification, not to be found in any other parts of the collection. On the whole, it may be thought tedious and languid; but that objection, unavoidably, results from the general plan of these pieces. It is impossible that soliloquies of such prolixity, and designed to include much historical

and even biographical matter, should every where sustain a proper degree of spirit, pathos, and interest."

In private life, he was an affectionate husband, a kind father, and a firm friend. Nor must we forget his distinguished hospitality. For the last twenty years of his life, his family consisted of a hundred persons, most of whom he entertained upon motives of charity; affording, likewise, to the poor out of doors liberal relief in seasons of sickness and scarcity. Beside his poems, there are extant several of his Lordship's letters; also a Latin letter to Dr. Bartholomew Clerke,* prefixed to that author's Latin translation of Balthazar Castiglione's Courtier from the Italian, which is no unworthy recommendation of a Treatise remarkable for it's polished latinity.

From this nobleman are descended the noble family of the Sackvilles.

* Clerke's translation was first printed at London in 1571, with the title, '*De Curiali, sive Aulico,*' and an improved edition of it was given by S. Drake, A. M. Cant. 1713. It was ushered into the world by two other commendatory letters (from J. Caius, and Edward Vere Earl of Oxford) and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, of whom the Earl of Dorset observes: *Tunc literarios homunculos maledicere audere putas, cum Illustrissima Princeps summo judicio, summâ literarum scientiâ primum illum librum, quem ego ejus Majestati mense Januario detuleram, tam apertis testimoniis approbaverit? Hic tu securus esto: nam et in illius patrocinio acquiesces, quâ sol nihil unquam clarius aut excellentius vidit; et tute æternam gloriam consequere, qui opus tam egregium et jucundum Principi tam Augustæ et Literatæ dicaveris.*

From 'The Induction.'

- The wrathful winter 'proaching on apace
 With blustering blasts had all ybared the treen,
 And old Saturnus, with his frosty face,
 With chilling cold had pierced the tender green;
 The mantles rent, whercin enwrapped been
 The gladsome groves that now lay overthrown,
 The tapets torn, and every bloom down blown.

- The soil, that erst so seemly was to seen,
 Was all despoiled of her beauty's hue;
 And sote (*sweet*) fresh flowers, wherewith the summer's queen
 Had clad the earth, now Boreas' blasts down blow:
 And small fowls flocking in their song did rue
 The winter's wrath, wherewith each thing defaced
 In woeful wise bewail'd the summer pass'd.

- Hawthorn had lost his motley livery,
 The naked twigs were shivering all for cold:
 And, dropping down the tears abundantly,
 Each thing (methought) with weeping eye me told
 The cruel season, bidding me withhold
 Myself within; for I was gotten out
 Into the fields, whereas I walk'd about.

- When lo! the night with misty mantle spread
 'Gan dark the day, and dim the azure skies;
 And Venus in her message Hermes sped
 To bloody Mars, to will him not to rise,
 While she herself approach'd in speedy wise:
 And Virgo, hiding her disdainful breast,
 With Thetis now had laid her down to rest.

- Whilst Scorpio dreading Sagittarius' dart,
 Whose bow prest (*ready*) bent in sight the string had slipt,
 Down slid into the ocean-flood apart:
 The Bear, that in the Irish seas had dipt
 His grisly feet, with speed from them he whipt;
 For Thetis, hasting from the Virgin's bed,
 Pursued the Bear, that ere she came was fled.

‘ And Phæton now, near reaching to his race
With glistening beams, gold-streaming where they bent,
Was prest to enter in his resting-place.
Orithyus, that in the car first went,
Had even now attain’d his journey’s stent;
And fast declining hid away his head,
While Titan crouch’d him in his purple bed.

‘ And pale Cinthia, with her borrow’d light
Beginning to supply her brother’s place,
Was past the noonstead six degrees in sight,
When sparkling stars amid the heaven’s face
With twinkling light shine on the earth apace;
That, while they brought about the night’s char,
The dark had dimm’d the day ere I was ’ware.

‘ And sorrowing I to see the summer-flowers,
The lively green, the lusty leas forlorn,
The sturdy trees so shatter’d with the showers,
The fields so fade that flourish’d so befor’n;
It taught me well, all earthly things be born
To die the death, for nought long time may last:
The summer’s beauty yields to winter’s blast.

‘ Then looking upward to the heaven’s lemes (*flames*)
With night’s stars thick-powder’d every where,
Which erst so glisten’d with the golden streams,
That cheerful Phœbus spread down from his sphere;
Beholding dark oppressing day so near,
The sudden sight reduced to my mind
The sundry changes, that in earth we find.

‘ That musing on this worldly wealth in thought,
Which comes and goes more faster than we see
The flickering flame, that with the fire is wrought,
My busy mind presented unto me
Such fall of peers as in this realm had be:
That oft I wish’d some would their woes descryve,
To warn the rest whom Fortune left alive.

‘ And strait forth stalking with redoubled pace,
 For that I saw the night drew on so fast,
 In black all clad there fell before my face
 A piteous wight, whom woe had all forewaste :
 Forth from her eyes the crystal tears out-brast ;
 And sighing sore, her hands she wrung and fold,
 Tare all her hair, that ruth was to behold.

‘ Her body small forewither’d and forspent,
 As is the stalk that summer’s drought opprest :
 Her welked (*wither’d*) face with woeful tears besprent,
 Her colour pale, and as it seem’d her best,
 In woe and plaint reposed was her rest ;
 And as the stone, that drops of water wears,
 So ’dented were her cheeks with fall of tears.

‘ Her eyes swollen with flowing streams afloat,
 Wherewith her looks thrown up full piteously ;
 Her forceless hands together oft she smote
 With doleful shrieks, that echo’d in the sky :
 Whose plaint such sighs did strait accompany,
 That in my doom was never man did see
 A wight but half so woe-begone as she.

‘ I stood aghast, beholding all her plight ;
 ’Tween dread and dolour so distraint’d in heart,
 That while my hairs upstart with the sight,
 The tears outstream’d for sorrow of her smart :
 But when I saw no end, that could apart
 The deadly dole, which she so sore did make,
 With doleful voice then thus to her I spake :

‘ “ Unwrap thy woes, whatever wight thou be,
 And stint (*cease*) betime to spill thyself with plaint :
 Tell what thou art, and whence ; for well I see,
 Thou can’st not ’dure, with sorrow thus attain.”
 And with that word of ‘ sorrow ’ all forefaint
 She looked up, and prostrate as she lay,
 With piteous sound lo ! thus she ’gan to say :

- “ Alas ! I wretch, whom thus thou see'st distraïn'd
 With wasting woes that never shall aslake (*abate*),
 Sorrow I am, in endless torments pain'd
 Among the Furies in th' infernal lake ;
 Where Pluto, god of hell, so grisly black,
 Doth hold his throne, and Lethe's deadly taste
 Doth revc (*take away*) remembrance of each thing fore-past.”

Under her guidance the poet goes first to ‘ the grisly lake,’ intending subsequently to attend her ‘ unto the blissful place of rest ;’ and sees ‘ within the porch and jaws of Hell’ Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Care, Sleep,

(—Small keep took he whom Fortune frowned on,
 Or whom she lifted up into the throne
 Of high renown ; but as a living death,
 So dead alive, of life he drew the breath.)

- And next in order sad Old Age we found,
 His beard all hoar, his eyes hollow and blind ;
 With drooping chere (*countenance*) still poring on the ground,
 As on the place where Nature him assign'd
 To rest, when that the Sisters had entwined
 His vital thread, and ended with their knife
 The fleeting course of fast declining life.

- There heard we him, with brok'n and hollow plaint,
 Rue with himself his end approaching fast,
 And all for nought his wretched mind torment
 With sweet remembrance of his pleasures past,
 And fresh delights of lusty youth fore-wastè :
 Recounting which, how would he sob and shriek,
 And to be young again of Jove beseech !

- But an the cruel Fates so fixed be,
 That time forepast cannot return again,
 This one request of Jove yet prayed he :
 ‘ That in such wither'd plight and wretched pain,
 ‘ As Eld (accompanied with his loathsome train)

‘ Had brought on him, all were it woe and grief,
 ‘ He might awhile yet linger forth his life ;

‘ And not so soon descend into the pit
 ‘ Where Death, when he the mortal corpse hath slain,
 ‘ With retchless hand in grave doth cover it ;
 ‘ Thereafter never to enjoy again
 ‘ The gladsome light, but in the ground ylain
 ‘ In depth of darkness waste and wear to nought,
 ‘ As he had ne’er into the world been brought.’

‘ But who had seen him sobbing, how he stood
 Unto himself, and how he would bemoan
 His youth forepast (as though it wrought him good
 To talk of youth, all were his youth foregone)
 He would have mused, and marvelled much whereon
 This wretched age should life desire so fain,
 And know full well life doth but length’n his pain.

‘ Crook-back’d he was, tooth-shaken, and blear-eyed ;
 Went on three feet, and sometime crept on four,
 With old lame bones that rattled by his side,
 His scalp all *piled* (bald) and he with eld forbore ;
 His wither’d fist still knocking at Death’s door,
 Trembling and drivelling as he draws his breath—
 For brief, the shape and messenger of Death.

Next follow Malady, Famine (struck by Death)
 and War, with a copious and classical description of
 the subjects ‘ depainted on his targe.’ By the help
 of Charon, they cross Acheron :

‘ Here puled the babes, and here the maids unwed,
 With folded hands their sorry chance bewail’d ;
 Here wept the guiltless slain, and lovers dead
 That slew themselves when nothing else avail’d :
 A thousand sorts of sorrows here, that wail’d
 With sighs and tears, sobs, shrieks, and all ysere,
 That (oh, alas !) it was a hell to hear.

‘ We stay’d us strait, and with a rueful fear
 Beheld this heavy sight, while from mine eyes
 The vapour’d tears down stilled here and there ;
 And Sorrow eke in far more woeful wise
 Look’d on with plaint, upheaving to the skyes
 Her wretched hands, that with her cry the rout
 ’Gan all in heaps to swarm us round about.

“ Lo ! here (said Sorrow) princes of renown,
 That whilom sat on top of Fortune’s wheel ;
 Now laid full low, like wretches hurled down
 Even with one frown, that stay’d but with a smile !
 And now behold the thing, that thou erewhile
 Saw only’ in thought, and what thou now shalt hear,
 Recount the same to Kesar, King, and Peer.” ’

Then first came Henry, Duke of Buckingham—
 who in his ‘ Complaint,’ speaking of the

. guilty mind
 Turmoil’d, which never feeleth ease or stay,
 But lives in fear of that which follows aye :

proceeds :

“ Well gave that judge his doom upon the death
 “ Of Titus Clelius, that in bed was slain :
 “ When every wight the cruel murder lay’th
 “ To his two sons, that in his chamber layen,
 “ The judge that by the proof perceiveth plain
 “ That they were found past sleeping in their bed,
 “ Hath deem’d them guiltless of this blood yshed.

“ He thought it could not be, that they which brake
 “ The laws of God and man in such outrage,
 “ Could so forthwith themselves to sleep betake :
 “ He rather thought, the horror and the rage
 “ Of such an heinous guilt could never ’suage,
 “ Nor ever suffer them to sleep or rest,
 “ Or dreadful breathe one breath out of their breast.

- “ So gnaws the grief of conscience evermore,
“ And in the heart it is so deep ygrave,
“ That they may neither sleep nor rest therefor,
“ Nor think one thought but on the dread they have ;
“ Still to the death foretossed with the wave
“ Of restless woe, in terror and despair,
“ They lead a life continually in fear.
- “ Like to the deer that stricken with the dart,
“ Withdraws himself into some secret place :
“ And feeling green the wound about his heart
“ Startles with pangs, till he fall on the grass,
“ And in great fear lies gasping there a space ;
“ Forth braying sighs, as though each pang had brought
“ The present death, which he doth dread so oft.” &c.

SIR ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.*

[1550—1612.]

SIR ROBERT CECIL, the son of the celebrated Lord Burghley, is supposed to have been born in 1550.† Deformed from his birth, of a feeble constitution and sickly in his habit of body, he was deemed unfit in early youth for scholastic exercises. He was, therefore, put under a private tutor at home; and thus while he was gradually improving himself in different branches of human learning, from being constantly with his father he acquired an early knowledge of state-affairs. At St. John's College, Cambridge, he received an honorary degree, and was subsequently admitted *ad eundem* in the sister-university. In the parliaments of 1585, and 1586, he served for the city of Westminster; and for the county of Hertford, in those of 1588, 1592, 1597, and 1600. In 1588 he was, also, one of the young nobility, who went out as volunteers in the fleet sent

* AUTHORITIES. • Wilson's *Life of James I.*; Weldon's *Court and Character of James I.*; Hume's *History of England*; and Collins' *Peerage*.

†. Some writers, however, assign his birth to the year 1563.

against the Spanish Armada. We have no authentic account, however, of his appearing in a diplomatic character till about 1585, when he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Derby, her Majesty's Ambassador at the French court. As he must at this time have been thirty-five years of age, it may be concluded, that the Earl of Leicester's hostility to his father had obstructed his promotion. In 1586, on his return from France, her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and he was made Under-Secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, then in a very impaired state of health. In this office he continued till the death of his principal in 1590, when he succeeded him in the possession of the seals.

Having now obtained a seat in the cabinet, he strained every nerve to disgrace the Earl of Essex,* whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his attainment of plenary power. Lord Burghley, worn out with age and the fatigues of a long and active administration, was upon the verge of the grave; and Essex, a younger man than himself, had the entire monopoly of the Queen's favour. To effect his purpose, therefore, he was obliged to make use of all those base and wicked arts, with which Machiavelian politicians so well know how to ensnare a powerful rival. The impetuosity of that rival rendered him but too easy a prey to his cool and crafty foe: as it is certain that Cecil's misrepresentations of his Irish despatches, and his aggravated accounts of the mal-administration of that kingdom, occasioned those sharp rebukes, which

* Essex had laboured to procure the secretaryship for Sir Thomas Bodley.

hurried him into acts of desperation, and finally led him to the block.

The new Secretary, like his predecessor, at great expense procured intelligence from all quarters of the world; and, by thus enabling himself to thwart his mistress' foreign and domestic foes, incurred the implacable hatred of the Popish party, who in several libels, printed and manuscript, defamed his character and threatened his life: but he replied, both in Latin and English, that 'in the cause of his Sovereign and his country he despised and defied their malice.'

Burghley, in order to pave the way for his son's elevation, resigned to him in 1597, with the Queen's permission, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time her Majesty likewise delivered to him the privy-seal. In 1598, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of France, to mediate a peace between that country and Spain. His father dying during his absence, he succeeded him in all his offices,* except that of Lord High Treasurer, which was continued to his coadjutor Lord Buckhurst: and, during Elizabeth's latter years, by his vigour and prudence he enabled her not only to assist her allies the States-General, when they were ingloriously abandoned by France, but also to defeat a dangerous insurrection in Ireland, which was cherished by powerful assistance from Spain. He was not yet satisfied, however; for perceiving that his royal mistress gave way to a degree of melancholy, which seemed to threaten a

* For the Mastership of the Court of Wards he resigned a better post, the Chancellorship of the Duchy, being 'so restrained (as he expressed himself) in his new appointment by fresh orders, that he was a ward himself.'

speedy decline, he judged it necessary to his security to conciliate the favour of the presumptive heir to the crown. This he accomplished by entering into a correspondence with the Scottish Sovereign, unknown to the Queen and the rest of the ministry: and James, who expected an opposition to his claim, not only from the Suffolk family, but likewise from the faction favourable to the pretensions of Lady Arabella Stuart, readily embraced his offers of service. That this correspondence should never have been discovered, is truly surprising; as it's very nature required the frequent passing and repassing of couriers. If it had not been for his singular presence of mind, indeed, we are told, this very circumstance must have exposed it to the knowledge of Elizabeth. As her Majesty was taking the air with him in her coach upon Blackheath, a courier, despatched from his office in London, rode up to deliver his packet. The Queen, hearing that it came from Scotland, was earnest to know it's contents: upon which Cecil, that he might not incur suspicion by delay, called for a knife, and having cut it open, pretended that the papers "looked and smelt ill-favoured, by coming out of a filthy budget."* He therefore advised, that they should be exposed some time to the air, before she perused them. To this she readily consented: upon which he sent them back to the office, and afterward substituted others in their stead.

For the last two months of her life, she complained bitterly of the little attention paid to her by her ser-

* See Sir Henry Wotton's 'Parallel of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, and George Villiers Duke of Buckingham.' *Reliq. Wott.* p. 16.

vants, who were all busily employed in writing to Scotland; particularly lamenting, that ‘those upon whom she had bestowed the greatest favours, were the first to neglect her.’ Of this number were Sir Robert Cecil, and Lord Buckhurst; and as a good understanding subsisted between them, it is most probable, that when they found her Majesty’s recovery hopeless, they reciprocally entrusted each other with the secret of their Scottish correspondence. Immediately upon her demise, the former produced her will, and after reading it publicly, proclaimed James I.; the latter at the same time setting off for Scotland, to carry the glad tidings to that Prince, and to secure the renewal of his patent.

Of the interesting circumstances connected with the death of Elizabeth, and the communication of that event to her successor, a detailed account is subjoined from the memoirs of Cary Earl of Monmouth:

‘When I came to court, I found the Queen ill disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand, and told her ‘it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue.’ She took me by the hand, and wrung it hard, and said, “No, Robin, I am not well;” and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days, and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved, at the first, to see her in this plight; for in all my lifetime before I never knew her to fetch a sigh, but when the Queen of Scots was beheaded. Then upon my know-

ledge she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen.

‘ I used the best words I could, to persuade her from this melancholy humour ; but I found by her, it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night, and she gave command, that the great closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in a readiness, we long expected her coming. After eleven o’clock, one of the grooms came out, and bade make ready for the private closet, she would not go to the great. There we stayed long for her coming ; but at last we had cushions laid for her in the privy chamber, hard by the closet-door, and there she heard service.

‘ From that forward, she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her, either to take any sustenance, or to go to bed.

‘ I hearing that neither the physicians, nor none about her, could persuade her to take any course for her safety, feared her death would soon after ensue. I could not but think, in what a wretched state I should be left, most of my livelihood depending on her life. And hereupon I bethought myself, with what grace and favour I was ever received by the King of Scots, whensoever I was sent to him. I did assure myself, it was neither unjust nor dishonest for me to do for myself, if God at that time should call her to his mercy. Hereupon I wrote to the King of Scots (knowing him to be the right heir to the crown of England) and certified him, in what state her Majesty was. I desired him, ‘ not to stir from Edin-

burgh : if of that sickness she should die, I would be the first man, that should bring him news of it.'

'The Queen grew worse and worse, because she would be so, none about her being able to persuade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral* was sent for (who by reason of my sister's death, that was his wife, had absented himself some fortnight from court); what by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of her recovery, because she refused all remedies.

'On Wednesday, the twenty-third of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs she called for her council, and by putting her hand to her head, when the King of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her.

'About six at night, she made signs for the Archbishop† and the chaplains to come to her; at which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees, full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her Majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed, and the other without. The Bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all her beholders. Then the good man told her plainly, 'what she was, and what she was to come to; and though she had been long a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings.' After this, he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in

* Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

† Whitgift.

prayer, until the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The Queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scroope knowing her meaning, told the Bishop, 'the Queen desired he would pray still.' He did so for a long half-hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time, she made sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health; which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, as the Queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but her woman that attended her.

'This that I heard with my ears, and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian; because I know, there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady.

'I went to my lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's chamber to call me, if that night it was thought she would die, and gave the porter an order to let me in at any time when I called. Between one and two o'clock on Thursday morning, he that I left in the Cofferer's chamber brought me word 'the Queen was dead.'* I rose, and made all the haste to the gate to get in. There I was answered, 'I could not enter; the Lords of the Council having been with him, and commanded him that none should go in or out, but by warrant from them.' At the

* She died soon after the Primate left her, about three o'clock in the morning.

very instant, one of the council (the Comptroller) asked, 'whether I was at the gate?' I said, "Yes." He said to me, 'if I pleased, he would let me in.' I desired to know, 'how the Queen did.' He answered, "Pretty well." I bade him 'good night.' He replied, and said, "Sir, if you will come in, I will give you my word and credit, you shall go out again at your own pleasure." Upon his word I entered the gate, and came up to the Cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly. He led me from thence to the privy chamber, where all the council was assembled; there I was caught hold of, and assured 'I should not go for Scotland, till their pleasures were farther known.' I told them, 'I came of purpose to that end.' From thence they all went to the Secretary's chamber, and as they went they gave a special command to the porters, that 'none should go out of the gates, but such servants as they should send to prepare their coaches and horses for London.' There was I left in the midst of the court to think my own thoughts, till they had done council. I went to my brother's * chamber, who was in bed, having being overwatched many nights before. I got him up with all speed, and when the council's men were going out of the gate, my brother thrust to the gate. The porter, knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I pressed after him, and was staid by the porter. My brother said angrily to the porter, "Let him out, I will answer for him." Whereupon I was suffered to pass, which I was not a little glad of.

* George Lord Hunsdon, Captain of the Band of Pensioners, K.G. &c.

‘ I got to horse, and rode to the Knight Marshal’s lodging by Charing Cross, and there staid till the Lords came to Whitehall Garden. I staid there till it was nine o’clock in the morning; and hearing that all the Lords were in the old orchard at Whitehall, I sent the Marshal to tell them, that ‘ I would attend them, if they would command me any service.’ They were very glad, when they heard I was not gone, and desired the Marshal to ‘ send for me, and I should with all speed be despatched for Scotland.’ The Marshal believed them, and sent Sir Arthur Savage for me. I made haste to them. One of the council (my Lord of Banbury, that now is) whispered the Marshal in the ears, and told him, ‘ if I came they would stay me, and send another in my stead.’ The Marshal got from them, and met me coming to them between the two gates. He bade me ‘ begone, for he had learned for certain, that if I came to them, they would betray me.’

‘ I returned, and took horse between nine and ten o’clock, and that night rode to Doncaster. The Friday night I came to my own house at Witherington, and presently took order with my deputies to see the borders kept in quiet, which they had much to do: and gave order the next morning, ‘ the King of Scotland should be proclaimed King of England, and at Morpeth and Alnwick.’ Very early on Saturday I took horse for Edinburgh, and came to Norham about twelve at noon, so that I might well have been with the King at supper-time: but I got a great fall by the way, and my horse with one of his heels gave me a great blow on the head, that made me shed much blood. It made me so weak, that I was forced to ride a soft pace after, so that

the King was newly gone to bed by the time that I knocked at the gate. I was quickly let in, and carried up to the King's chamber. I kneeled by him, and saluted him by his title of 'England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.' He gave me his hand to kiss, and bade me welcome.* After we had long discoursed of the manner of the Queen's sickness, and of her death, he asked 'what letters I had from the council?' I told him 'none;' and acquainted him, 'how narrowly I escaped from them: and yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported.' He took it, and looked upon it, and said, "It is enough: I know by this, you are a true messenger." Then he committed me to the charge of Lord Hume, and gave straight command, that 'I should want nothing.' He sent for his surgeons, to attend me, and when I kissed his hand at my departure, he said to me these gracious words: "I know you have lost a near kinswoman, and a loving mistress: but take here my hand; I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service to you with honour and reward."

The new Sovereign held his first court, and settled his council, at the country-seat of Sir Robert Cecil (Theobalds, in Hertfordshire) on the third of May, 1603; and a few days afterward, created him a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron of Essenden in Rutlandshire. The following year he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Cranbourne, of Cranbourne,

* For an account of this interview, see Osborne's 'Traditional Memorials of James I.'

in Dorsetshire;* and on May 4, 1605, created Earl of Salisbury,† installed Knight of the Garter, and elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

For these honours and preferments, many historians conceive him to have been indebted to his time-serving disposition; and assert, that he encouraged James to extend the royal prerogative beyond its constitutional limits. He is charged, in particular, with having caused a cart-load of parliament precedents, favourable to the liberty of the subject, to be burnt; and with having encouraged the project of raising supplies by the creation of baronets,‡ each person paying a thousand pounds for the honour.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he applied himself very assiduously to the duties of his office, and conducted the national concerns in a manner which made him equally esteemed at home, and respected by foreign courts. He never, indeed, heartily espoused the Spanish cause, though so highly favoured by his royal master. This was so notorious, that it was moved in council in that court, to complain to England of his malignant humour or envy against them. They, next, essayed to gain him by milder means. But when all the designs of the Popish faction were defeated by the detection of the gunpowder-plot (which yet great authorities have represented, as a political fabrication of his own) his

* The first of that degree, who wore a coronet.

† His elder brother, Thomas, was created Earl of Exeter in the afternoon of the same day.

‡ Of the 205 baronets created by this Monarch, only 45 (including the original premier, Bacon) remain: 133 have become extinct, and 27 are merged in higher honours.

activity upon that occasion, and his zeal in bringing to punishment the individuals involved in it, instigated them to the adoption of darker measures.* In the affair, likewise, of the proposed union of Prince Charles (subsequently Charles I.) with the Infanta, he opposed the proposition in council, and the marriage-articles in the House of Peers, with such strength of reasoning, that the Spanish and English Papists were confirmed in their murderous designs. But the scheme being overheard by one of his servants, he was put upon his guard; and soon afterward, by enforcing the act of parliament recently passed, which offered great rewards for the discovery of concealed Popish priests, he got rid of his secret enemies. Neither did this conduct lessen him in the esteem of his royal master. On the contrary, we find him in such favour in 1606, that Christian IV. King of Denmark, being at that time in England, the brother-monarchs made a visit of four days at the Earl's seat in Hertfordshire, where they were entertained with the utmost magnificence.

In 1608, upon the demise of the Earl of Dorset, he attained the summit of his wishes, the office of Lord High Treasurer. And, in the management of the public revenues, he found fresh opportunities of at once exerting his political abilities, and acquiring great popularity. His predecessor, from an apprehension of losing his appointment, had encouraged the King's profuseness to his Scottish

* They reported, that he received a pension of 40,000 crowns from the States General, as their special patron branded him with the appellation of 'puritan,' a name peculiarly odious to King James; and at last conspired to shoot him, from the Savoy or some neighbouring station, as he was going by water to court.

minions, upon whom he lavished the national treasures. Against this scandalous misapplication of the public revenues, the new guardian of the public purse took the liberty of remonstrating; and once, when the King had given a warrant for money to Sir Robert Carr, his first favourite, he devised a stratagem to impress upon his Majesty the extent of his extravagance. Rightly judging that James, who had come from a country scanty of specie, was ignorant of the value of the intended present, he ordered it to be placed in silver upon tables in an apartment at Salisbury-House, through which the King must necessarily pass to dinner. On beholding the precious piles, his Majesty was thunder-struck, and inquired ‘whose property it was;’ to which Salisbury replied, “Your Majesty’s, before you gave it away.” Upon this, he swore that ‘he had been abused, as he never meant to bestow upon any one such a prodigious donation:’ and putting aside some handfuls, in value about three hundred pounds, protested that ‘Carr should have no more.’ But the Treasurer, unwilling to distress the favourite, or dreading the effects of his resentment, contented himself with keeping back half the sum granted in the warrant; and from this time, as long as Cecil lived, James was more sparing of his bounty. He caused the King’s manors likewise to be surveyed, which were previously but imperfectly known; revived the custody of crown-lands; ordered commissions of assets; directed the royal woods to be viewed, numbered, marked, and valued; had an exact estimate printed of the copyholds held of the crown; compounded with copyholders of the inheritance, and the possessors of wastes and commons originally appertaining to the King; appointed

commissioners to collect the fines accruing from penal laws and manorial forfeits; improved the customs from 3,000*l.* to 35,000*l. per ann.*; and finally, surrendered up his patent of Master of the Court of Wards to the King. After Salisbury's death, however, his profligality to his Scottish courtiers, and with it the clamors of his English subjects, increased; and his second parliament deeming the exhausted state of the finances a national grievance, refused to grant him any farther supplies, unless he would promise to apply them exclusively to the public service.*

A frugal administration of the finances was not the only service rendered to his country by the Earl of Salisbury, while he was at the head of the treasury. He patronised every ingenious invention, and every useful discovery, for the benefit of trade and navigation: encouraged the fishing on our coasts by natives, strictly forbidding all foreigners to interfere; and extended his attention to Ireland, which derived signal advantages from his political and commercial regulations. †

At length, his incessant application to the various duties of his high station gradually brought on a decline, which reduced him to a very weak condition: he was next attacked by a tertian ague, a disorder which seems to have been extremely fatal in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, In the spring of the year 1612. his physicians pronounced, that 'he had a complication of disorders, of which the most dangerous were the dropsy and the

* Upon this, they were dissolved in 1614.

† Of these one was, the offer of rewards for the tilling of uncultivated lands.

scurvy.' For these they advised the Bath waters. Before he set out for that city, the King paid him several visits, and expressed his sense of his great merit, as well as his personal affection for him, by many tokens of royal favour. He even parted from him in tears, and protested to the lords in waiting, that 'he should lose in him the wisest counsellor and the best servant in Christendom.' At this time, James had no hopes of his recovery, and therefore he ordered that 'no man should disturb him, by speaking to him upon public business:' but on hearing that he was much better, in testimony of the satisfaction he received from this intelligence, he sent Lord Hay express to Bath to deliver to him a token of remembrance, as well as an assurance of the continuance of his royal favour.*

* The present was a fair diamond set, or rather hung square, in a gold ring without a foil; and it was accompanied by a declaration, 'That the favour and affection the king bore him was, and should be ever, as the form and matter of that ring, endless, pure, and most perfect.' The writers of this minister's Life have been very careful to preserve this anecdote; but they have not explained the true motive of sending the present, independent of the King's personal regard. The foible of the Earl of Salisbury, it must be recollected, was his love of power, which he carried to such excess, that "he could not bear a rival near the throne." In this disposition, though he was a ready discernër, and in general a great rewarder, of merit in others, it was only when it did not stand in competition with his own. His ungenerous conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh sprung from jealousy; and even in his last illness, anxious to retain his office as long as life remained, he was continually despatching express to court to give the king hopes of his recovery, and to escape the mortification of being superseded before his decease. To make him easy upon this head, James sent one of the Lords of the Bed-Chamber to him with the above present and message.

But these accounts were wholly unfounded: Bath had done him no service, and therefore he was advised to return to London. He was so exhausted, however, that he could proceed no farther than Marlborough, where he died* at the house of his friend Mr. Daniel, May 24, 1612. His body being embalmed was brought to Hatfield† in Hertfordshire, where it was interred with the magnificence, which in those days was considered as essential to the obsequies of rank and station; and a superb monument was erected, some time afterward, to his memory in Hatfield church.

In industry and capacity, says Granger, he was scarcely inferior to his father; but he was more artful, more insinuating, and far more insincere. King James used to call him his 'little beagle,' alluding to the many discoveries made by his extraordinary sagacity.

Censured as he has been by the unsupported invectives of Weldon and Wilson, the scandalous chroniclers of that age, he must be pronounced both a man of quicker parts, and a writer and speaker of greater spirit, than Lord Burghley. His character of artifice and dissimulation may, perhaps, have originated in the address, with which he penetrated the secrets of foreign powers, and evaded occasionally their inconvenient scrutiny; and the correspondence,

* He encountered death with the most philosophical tranquillity. "Ease and pleasure," said he, "quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved."

† A royal manor, which the King had given him in exchange for Theobalds. He built the magnificent house at this place, where most of his furniture is still preserved.

which he carried on with the Scottish King prior to Elizabeth's death, he justified by its effect upon her tranquillity. "What (said he) could more quiet the expectation of a successor, so many ways incited to jealousy, than when he saw her ministry, that were so inward with her, wholly bent to accommodate the present actions of state for his future safety, when God should see his time?" 'He was properly,' says Dr. Birch (in his 'Historical View of the Negotiations, &c.') 'a sole minister, though not under the denomination of a favourite, his master having a much greater awe of than love for him; and he drew all business both foreign and domestic into his own hands, and suffered no ministers to be employed abroad but who were his dependents, and with whom he kept a most constant and exact correspondence. But the men, whom he preferred to such employments, justified his choice, and did credit to the use he made of his power.'—'In short, he was as good a minister, as his prince would suffer him to be, and as was consistent with his own security in a factious and corrupt court; and he was even negligent of his personal safety, whenever the interest of the public was at stake. His post of Lord Treasurer, at a time when the exchequer was exhausted by the King's boundless profusion, was attended with infinite trouble to him, in concerting schemes for raising the supplies; and the manner in which he was obliged to raise them, with the great fortune which he accumulated to himself, exposed him to much detraction and popular clamor which followed him to his grave: though experience showed, that the nation sustained an important loss by his death, as he was the only minister of state of real

abilities during the whole course of that reign. He has been thought too severe and vindictive in the treatment of his rivals and enemies: but the part, which he acted toward the Earl of Essex, seems entirely the result of his duty to his mistress and the nation. It must, however, be confessed, that his behaviour toward the great and unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh is an imputation upon him, which still remains to be cleared up.*

He wrote some notes upon Dr. Dee's 'Discourse on the Reformation of the Calendar,'

He married Elizabeth, the sister of the unhappy Brooke Lord Cobham, by whom he had a daughter Frances (married to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland) and an only son William, second Earl of Salisbury. His descendant James, the seventh Earl, was created Marquis of Salisbury, in 1789.

* A more elaborate apology for this statesman was addressed, soon after his decease, to King James by Sir Walter Cope. See Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, Vol. I., from which, as well as from the account of his death in Peck's *Desiderata*, the ambitious may derive a salutary lesson. From his 'Secret Correspondence' with James (published by Lord Hailes in 1766) it should be added, the noble editor infers, that 'he was no less solicitous to maintain his own power, than to settle the succession to Elizabeth.' He left behind him, also, various speeches and memorials highly illustrative of his conduct and character.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

[1564—1616.]

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, the glory of his age and of his country, was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, April 23, 1564. In the public records of that town, his family are mentioned as persons of the rank of gentry. His father, John Shakspeare, who was a considerable dealer in wool, being encumbered with a family of ten children, could afford to give his eldest son only a slender education. He had bred him at a free-school, where he acquired a smattering of Latin; but by the narrowness of his circumstances he was compelled to take him home, and thus deprived him of all farther advantage from scholastic instruction. Upon this, he entirely devoted himself to his father's business; and, with a view of settling in the world, married while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hatherway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

In this state of domestic obscurity he continued, till misconduct obliged him to take shelter in London. He had the misfortune to fall into bad company. Among these were some, who made a fre-

quent practice of deer-stealing, and who engaged him more than once in robbing the park of Sir Thomas Lucy,* of Charlecot near Stratford. He was in consequence treated by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge himself for his supposed ill-usage, he made a ballad upon him. This, probably the first essay of his poetry, is lost; but it is said to have been so extremely bitter, that it redoubled the persecution against him, and drove him from his business and his family to the metropolis.

On arriving in London, without money and without friends, he knew not by what means to support himself. At that time, coaches not being in use, gentlemen were accustomed to ride to the playhouse. Driven to the last necessity, Shakspeare (it is said) attended at the door, and earned a poor subsistence by holding the horses of the audience. Even in that humble station, he was noticed for his extraordinary diligence and punctuality, got speedily more business than he could manage, and was compelled to hire young assistants, who were known long afterward by the name of ‘Shakspeare’s boys.’

Some of the players, accidentally conversing with him, and finding him possessed of a fund of dramatic talent, introduced him to the company; into whose society he was admitted, though at first in a very humble line of acting,† and upon very low terms.

* This Sir Thomas Lucy was, it is said, afterward ridiculed by Shakspeare, under the character of Justice Shallow.

† His name is printed (according to the custom of the times) among those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any statement of what characters he sustained; and from the most diligent researches it appears, that his most con-

He quickly, however, distinguished himself, if not as an extraordinary actor, as a fine writer.

It would undoubtedly be curious to ascertain, from proper authorities, the first essay of his genius, that it might be traced through it's gradual progressions to the summit of perfection which it finally attained. But here, likewise, we are left in the dark.*

Beside the advantage which Shakspeare possessed over all men in the article of wit, he was of a gentle and amiable disposition, and was a most agreeable companion. By these qualities, he was introduced into the best company of his time.

Queen Elizabeth † had several of his plays acted before her; and with the admirable character of Falstaff, in the two parts of 'Henry IV.' ‡ she was

siderable part was that of the Ghost, in his own 'Hamlet.' While he was in this situation, he had an opportunity of serving Ben Jonson, by introducing one of his first pieces upon the stage. His taking a part in it himself might be a more equivocal benefit: but there could be no doubt of the advantages, which would accrue from his literary aid. And Jonson repaid him by his farewell panegyric.

* 'Romeo and Juliet' (his earliest production, according to Rowe) was written in 1597, when the author was thirty-three years old; and Richard II., and Richard III., the next year.

† It is assuredly this maiden princess, whom he describes as

—— A fair vestal, thrond by the west.

(*Midsummer Night's Dream.*)

‡ From the epilogue to this play it appears, that the part of Falstaff was written originally under the name of Oldcastle. Some of that family, however, being then remaining, the Queen commanded him to alter it: but the author was, perhaps, not wholly free from blame in the name, which he substituted; as it is certain, that Sir John Falstaff (or Fastolf), a Knight of the Garter and a Lieutenant-General, was a person of distinguished merit in the French wars under Henry V. and Henry VI.

so highly delighted, that she commanded him to continue it through an additional drama, and to exhibit the witty knight in love. This is said to have been the occasion of his writing the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.'

Beside the royal patronage, Shakspeare received many considerable favours from the Earl of Southampton, a nobleman celebrated in history from his connexion with the unfortunate Earl of Essex. To him he dedicated his poem of 'Venus and Adonis;' and he received from him, it is said, a present of a thousand pounds to enable him to accomplish a favourite purchase. There are few instances of such liberality in later times !

We have no positive account, when Shakspeare quitted the stage for a private life. Some have imagined that Spenser's *Thalia*, in the 'Tears of the Muses,' where she laments the loss of her Willy in the comic scene, refers to this event. But Spenser, it is well known, died in the year 1598: and Shakspeare's name is to be found among the actors in Ben Jonson's '*Sejanus*,' which made it's appearance in 1603; nor could he then indeed have had any thoughts of retiring, since that very year a licence* by James I. was granted to him with Burbage, Philips, Hemmings, Condel, and others to exercise their profession, as well at their usual house (the Globe, on the Bank-Side, Southwark) as in any other part of the kingdom, during his Majesty's pleasure. Besides, that he wrote '*Macbeth*,' it is inferred, after James' accession to the English

* This licence is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

throne; as he there embraces the doctrine of witches, to which his Majesty was so partial, that he composed a work, entitled ‘Demonology,’ in defence of their existence. Hence the passage in *Thalia*, if it relates at all to Shakspeare, must have hinted only at some occasional recess.

His acquaintance with Ben Jonson took its rise from a remarkable instance of humanity and goodness. Jonson, at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the stage; and the person in whose hands it had been placed, after having turned it carelessly over, was about to return it to him, with an assurance that ‘it would be of no service to the company:’ when Shakspeare luckily casting his eye upon it, found in it so much merit, as to lead him first to read it through, and afterward to recommend Jonson and his writings to the public.

The latter part of his life was spent in ease and retirement. He had the good fortune to acquire a decent competency by his compositions; and he resided, for some years before his death, at his native town, in a handsome house to which he gave the name of ‘New Place.’ His wit and courtesy secured to him the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood: and his intimacy with one Combe, an old gentleman noted for his wealth, avarice, and usury, is still remembered. In a conversation among their common friends, Mr. Combe pleasantly told Shakspeare, that he expected from his pen an epitaph; and as he could not know what might be said of him when dead, he desired it might be done immediately: upon which, Shakspeare instantly replied:

Ten in the hundred lies here ingraven ;
 'Tis an hundred to ten, his soul is not saved :
 If any man ask, ' Who lies in this tomb ? '
 " Oh ! oh ! " quoth the devil, " 'tis my John-a-Combe."

The sharpness of this satire is said to have stung the subject of it so severely, that he never forgave it.

In the beginning of the year 1616, Shakspeare made his will ; in which, after leaving to his eldest daughter Judith, 150*l.* to be paid within twelve months after his decease, and 150*l.* more to be paid to her three years afterward, he appointed his younger and favourite daughter, and her husband Dr. John Hall, a physician of high provincial reputation, his joint executors ; bequeathing to them the largest part of his estate. He, also, left legacies to his sister Joan, and her three sons ; ten pounds to the poor of Stratford ; his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe, and rings to his old dramatic partners, Hemmings, Burbage, and Condell.

He died on his birth-day 1616, having completed his fifty-second year, and was interred on the north-side of the chancel in the great church of Stratford, where a handsome monument was erected over him, inscribed with the following distich :

*Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem
 Terra tegit, populus macret, Olympus habet.*

And, on the grave-stone, in the pavement beneath,
 are these lines :

Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
 To dig the dust enclosed here.
 Blest be the man that spares these stones,
 And cursed be he that moves my bones.

In 1740, a noble monument was raised to his memory in Westminster-Abbey.*

It is to be lamented, that so few incidents of the life of Shakspeare have been handed down to posterity; but this may, in some degree, be accounted for from the little vicissitude to which it was subject. A mere accident carried him to London; and there the constant exertion of his talents conducted him, by an easy and regular transition, from indigence and obscurity to fame and competence. His sound judgement suggested to him the felicity of retiring, as soon as he had accomplished his very moderate wishes; and no extraordinary events occurred to dignify, or to diversify, the annals of his closing days.

His family became extinct in the third generation: for the three sons of his eldest daughter, who married Mr. Thomas Quincey, died childless: and the only daughter of Mrs. Hall, though twice married (to Thomas Nash, Esq., and to Sir John Bernard of Abingdon) left no issue.

* For this purpose, his tragedy of 'Julius Cæsar' was performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on the twenty-eight of April, 1738. The tickets for admission were fixed at an extraordinary price. The Earl of Burlington, Dr. Mead, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Fleetwood patentee of the theatre, were appointed trustees upon the occasion; and, under their direction, the monument was designed by Kent, and executed by Scheemakers. The figure of Shakspeare is a whole length, in white marble, dressed in the habit of his time. It reclines on the right arm, which is supported by a pedestal, and bears a scroll, inscribed with the following lines (not accurately quoted) from his 'Tempest':

The cloud capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve,
And like one baseless fabric of a vision
Leave not a rack behind.

Much dispute has arisen upon the subject of Shakspeare's learning. Dr. Johnson says, 'It is most likely that he had learned Latin sufficiently to make him acquainted with construction, but that he never advanced to an easy perusal of the Roman authors. Concerning his skill in modern languages, I can find no sufficient ground of determination; but as no imitations of French or Italian authors have been discovered, though the Italian poetry was then high in esteem, I am inclined to believe, that he read little more than English, and chose for his fables only such tales as he found translated. There is, however, proof enough that he was a very diligent reader; nor was our language then so indigent of books, but that he might very liberally indulge his curiosity without excursion into foreign literature. Many of the Roman authors were translated, and some of the Greek: the Reformation had filled the kingdom with theological learning: most of the topics of human disquisition had found English writers; and poetry had been cultivated, not only with diligence, but success. This was a stock of knowledge sufficient for a mind so capable of appropriating, and improving, it.' It has, however, been contended by other writers, that Shakspeare, far from being unskilled in the learned languages, was acquainted even with the Greek, as well as with the Roman Classics: but Dr. Farmer, in his admirable 'Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare,' has accounted most satisfactorily for the frequent allusions to the facts and fables of antiquity, which we find in his writings, without demanding the hypothesis of his having read those authors in their original texts. He particularly specifies the English translations, which

were then extant, and with which Shakspeare was evidently conversant ; and upon the whole concludes, that his studies were certainly confined to nature and his own language.

On the merit and genius of this illustrious bard the following observations are made by Mr. Pope : ‘ If ever any author deserved the name of an original, it was Shakspeare. Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of nature ; it proceeded through Egyptian strainers and channels, and came to him not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him. The poetry of Shakspeare was inspiration indeed : he is not so much an imitator, as an instrument, of nature ; and ’tis not so just to say, that he speaks from her, as that she speaks through him. His characters are so much nature itself, that ’tis a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as copies of her. Those of other poets have a constant resemblance, which shows that they received them from one another, and were but multipliers of the same image : each picture, like a mock-rainbow, is but the reflexion of a reflexion. But every single character in Shakspeare is as much an individual, as those in life itself : it is as impossible to find any two alike ; and such, as from their relation or affinity in any respect appear most to be twins, will upon comparison be found remarkably distinct.’

‘ Shakspeare,’ says Dr. Johnson,* ‘ is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the Poet of Nature ; the poet, that holds out to his readers a

* In his incomparable Preface to his Edition, first published in 1768.

faithful mirror of manners, and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world; by the peculiarities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon small numbers; or by the accidents of transient fashions, or temporary opinions. They are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles, by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets, a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakspeare it is, commonly, a species. It is from this wide extension of design, that so much instruction is derived. It is this, which fills the plays of Shakspeare with practical axioms and domestic wisdom. It was said of Euripides, that ‘every verse was a precept:’ and it may be said of Shakspeare, that ‘from his works may be collected a system of civil and economical prudence.’

‘This, therefore (he adds) is the praise of Shakspeare, that his drama is the mirror of life; that he, who has mazed his imagination in following the phantoms which other writers raise up before him, may here be cured of his delirious ecstasies by reading human sentiments in human language, by scenes from which a hermit may estimate the transactions of the world, and a confessor predict the progress of the passions.

‘Shakspeare engaged (he farther observes) in dramatic poetry with the world open before him. The rules of the ancients were yet known to few: the public judgement was unformed: he had no example

of such fame as might force him upon imitation, nor critics of such authority as might restrain his extravagance. He, therefore, indulged his natural disposition; and his disposition, as Rymer has remarked, led him to comedy. In tragedy, he often writes, with great appearance of toil and study, what is written at last with little felicity: but, in his comic scenes, he seems to produce without labour, what no labour can improve. In tragedy, he is always struggling after some occasion to be comic; but in comedy, he seems to repose or to luxuriate, as in a mode of thinking congenial to his nature. In his tragic scenes, there is always something wanting; but his comedy often surpasses expectation, or desire. His comedy pleases by the thoughts and the language; and his tragedy, for the greater part, by incident and action. His tragedy seems to be skill; his comedy to be instinct.

‘The force of his comic scenes has suffered little diminution from the changes made by a century and a half in manners, or in words. As his personages act upon principles arising from genuine passion, very little modified by particular forms, their pleasures and vexations are communicable to all times and to all places: they are natural, and therefore durable. The adventitious peculiarities of personal habits are only superficial dies, bright and pleasing for a little while, yet soon fading to a dim tinct, without any remains of former lustre: but the discriminations of true passion are colours of nature; they pervade the whole mass, and can only perish with the body that exhibits them. The accidental composition of heterogeneous *modes* are dissolved by the chance, which combined them; but the uniform simplicity of primitive qualities neither admits increase, nor suffers

decay. The sand heaped by one flood is scattered by another, but the rock always continues in it's place. The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabrics of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of Shakspeare.

‘ If there be, what I believe there is, in every nation, a stile which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of it's respective language, as to remain settled and unaltered; this stile is probably to be sought in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned depart from established forms of speech, in hope of finding or making better. Those, who wish for distinction, forsake the vulgar, when the vulgar is right: but there is a conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides, and where this poet seems to have gathered his comic dialogue. He is, therefore, more agreeable to the ears of the present age, than any other author equally remote; and, among his other excellences, deserves to be studied as one of the original masters of our language.

‘ These observations are to be considered not as unexceptionably constant, but as containing general and predominant truth. Shakspeare's familiar dialogue is affirmed to be smooth and clear, yet not wholly without ruggedness or difficulty; as a country may be eminently fruitful, though it has spots unfit for cultivation. His characters are praised as natural, though their sentiments are sometimes forced, and their actions improbable; as the earth upon the whole

is spherical, though it's surface is varied with protuberances and cavities.

‘ Shakspeare with his excellences, has, likewise, faults; and faults sufficient to obscure and overwhelm any other merit. I shall show them, in the proportion in which they appear to me, without envious malignity or superstitious veneration. No question can be more innocently discussed, than a dead poet's pretensions to renown; and little regard is due to that bigotry, which sets candour higher than truth.

‘ His first defect is that, to which may be imputed most of the evils in books or in men. He sacrifices virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose. From his writings, indeed, a system of social duty may be selected; for he, that thinks reasonably, must think morally: but his precepts and axioms drop casually from him; he makes no just distribution of good or evil, nor is always careful to show in the virtuous a disapprobation of the wicked: he carries his persons indifferently through right and wrong, and at the close dismisses them without farther care, and leaves their examples to operate by chance. This fault the barbarity of his age cannot extenuate: for it is, always, a writer's duty to make the world better; and justice is a virtue independent on time, or place.

‘ The plots are often so loosely formed, that a very slight consideration may improve them; and so carelessly pursued, that he seems not always fully to comprehend his own design. He omits opportunities of instructing, or delighting, which the train of his story seems to force upon him; and apparently rejects

those exhibitions, which would be more affecting, for the sake of those which are more easy.

‘ It may be observed, that in many of his plays the latter part is evidently neglected. When he found himself near the end of his work, and in view of his reward, he shortened the labour to snatch the profit. He, therefore, remits his efforts, where he should most vigorously exert them: and his catastrophe is improbably produced, or imperfectly represented.

‘ He had no regard to distinction of time or place, but gives to one age or nation without scruple the customs, institutions, and opinions of another; at the expense, not only of likelihood, but of possibility. These faults Pope has endeavoured, with more zeal than judgement, to transfer to his imagined interpolators. We need not wonder to find Hector quoting Aristotle, when we see the loves of Theseus and Hippolyta combined with the Gothic mythology of fairies. Shakspeare, indeed, was not the only violator of chronology: for in the same age Sidney, who wanted not the advantages of learning, has in his *Arcadia* confounded the pastoral with the feudal times; the days of innocence, quiet, and security with those of turbulence, violence, and adventure.

‘ In his comic scenes he is seldom very successful, when he engages his characters in reciprocations of smartness and contest of sarcasm: their jests are commonly gross, and their pleasantry licentious; neither his gentlemen nor his ladies have much delicacy, nor are sufficiently distinguished from his clowns by any appearance of refined manners. Whether he represented the real conversation of his time, is not easy to determine. The reign of Elizabeth is commonly supposed to have been a time of stateliness, formality,

and reserve; yet, perhaps, the relaxations of that severity were not very elegant. There must, however, have been always some modes of gayety preferable to others, and a writer ought to choose the best.

‘ In tragedy, his performance seems constantly to be worse, as his labour is more. The effusions of passion, which exigence forces out, are for the most part striking and energetic: but whenever he solicits his invention, or strains his faculties, the offspring of his throes is tumor, meanness, tediousness, and obscurity.

‘ In narration, he affects a disproportionate pomp of diction, and a wearisome train of circumlocution; and tells the incident imperfectly in many words, which might have been more plainly delivered in few. Narration in dramatic poetry is naturally tedious, as it is unanimated and inactive, and obstructs the progress of the action: it should, therefore, always be rapid, and enlivened by frequent interruption. Shakspeare found it an incumbrance, and instead of lightening it by brevity, endeavoured to recommend it by dignity and splendor.

‘ His declamations, or set speeches, are commonly cold and weak; for his power was the power of nature. When he endeavoured, like other tragic writers, to catch opportunities of amplification; and instead of inquiring what the occasion demanded, to show how much his stores of knowledge could supply, he seldom escapes without the pity or resentment of his reader.

‘ It is incident to him to be now and then entangled with an unwieldy sentiment, which he cannot well express, and will not reject: he struggles with

it a while; and if it continues stubborn, comprises it in words such as occur, and leaves it to be disentangled and evolved by those, who have more leisure to bestow upon it.

‘ Not that always, where the language is intricate, the thought is subtile; or the image always great, where the line is bulky: the equality of words to things is very often neglected, and trivial sentiments and vulgar ideas disappoint the attention, to which they are recommended by sonorous epithets and swelling figures.

‘ But the admirers of this great poet have never less reason to indulge their hopes of supreme excellence, than when he seems fully resolved to sink them in dejection, and mollify them with tender emotions by the fall of greatness, the danger of innocence, or the crosses of love. He is not long soft and pathetic, without some idle conceit or contemptible equivocation. He no sooner begins to move, than he counteracts himself; and ‘ terror and pity,’ as they are rising in the mind, are checked and blasted by sudden frigidity.

‘ A quibble is to Shakspeare, what luminous vapours are to the traveller: he follows it at all adventures; it is sure to lead him out of his way, and sure to engulf him in the mire. It has some malignant power over his mind, and it’s fascinations are irresistible. Whatever be the dignity or profundity of his disquisition, whether he be enlarging knowledge or exalting affection, whether he be amusing attention with incidents, or enchainning it in suspense; let but a quibble spring up before him, and he leaves his work unfinished. A quibble is the golden apple, for which he will always turn aside from his career, or

stoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight, that he was content to purchase it by the sacrifice of reason, propriety, and truth. A quibble was to him the fatal Cleopatra, for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it.

‘ It will be thought strange, that in enumerating the defects of this writer I have not yet mentioned his neglect of the Unities; his violation of those laws, which have been instituted and established by the joint authority of poets and of critics.

‘ For his other deviations from the art of writing I resign him to critical justice, without making any other demand in his favour, than that which must be indulged to all human excellence; that his virtues be rated with his failings. But, from the censure which this irregularity may bring upon him I shall, with due reverence to that learning which I must oppose, adventure to try how I can defend him.

‘ His Histories, being neither tragedies nor comedies, are not subject to any of their laws: nothing more is necessary to all the praise which they expect, than that the changes of action be so prepared as to be understood, that the incidents be various and affecting, and the characters consistent, natural, and distinct. No other unity is intended, and therefore none is to be sought.

‘ In his other works, he has well enough preserved the unity of Action. He has not, indeed, an intrigue regularly perplexed, and regularly unravelled: he does not endeavour to hide his design only to discover it; for this is seldom the order of real events, and Shakspeare is the Poet of Nature. But his plan has commonly what Aristotle requires, a beginning,

a middle, and an end: one event is concatenated with another, and the conclusion follows by easy consequence. There are, perhaps, some incidents that might be spared; as in other poets there is much talk, that only fills up time upon the stage: but the general system makes gradual advances, and the end of the play is the end of expectation.

‘To the Unities of Time and Place he has shown no regard: and, perhaps, a nearer view of the principles on which they stand will diminish their value, and withdraw from them the veneration, which from the time of Cornille they have very generally received, by discovering that they have given more trouble to the poet than pleasure to the auditor.

‘The necessity of observing the Unities of Time and Place arises from the supposed necessity of making the drama credible. The critics hold it impossible, that an action of months or years can be possibly believed to pass in three hours; or that the spectator can suppose himself to sit in the theatre, while ambassadors go and return between distant kings, while armies are levied and towns besieged, while an exile wanders and returns, or till he whom they saw courting his mistress shall lament the untimely fall of his son. The mind revolts from evident falsehood; and fiction loses its force, when it departs from the resemblance of reality.

‘From the narrow limitation of Time necessarily arises the contraction of Place. The spectator, who knows that he saw the first act at Alexandria, cannot suppose that he sees the next at Rome, at a distance to which not the dragons of Medea could in so short a time have transported him: he knows with certainty that he has not changed his place, and he

knows that place cannot change itself; that what was a house, cannot become a plain; that what was Thebes, can never be Persepolis.

‘Such is the triumphant language, with which a critic exults over the misery of an irregular poet, and exults commonly without resistance or reply. It is time therefore to tell him, by the authority of Shakspeare, that he assumes as an unquestionable principle a position which, while his breath is forming it into words, his understanding pronounces to be false. It is false, that any representation is mistaken for reality; that any dramatic fable in it’s materiality was ever credible, or for a single moment was ever credited.

‘The objection, arising from the impossibility of passing the first hour at Alexandria and the next at Rome, supposes that when the play opens, the spectator really imagines himself at Alexandria, and believes that his walk to the theatre has been a voyage to Egypt, and that he lives in the days of Antony and Cleopatra. Surely he, that imagines this, may imagine more. He, that can take the stage at one time for the palace of the Ptolemies, may take it in half an hour for the promontory of Actium. Delusion, if delusion be admitted, has no certain limitation: if the spectator can be once persuaded that his old acquaintance are Alexander and Cæsar, that a room illuminated with candles is the plain of Pharsalia or the bank of Granicus, he is in a state of elevation above the reach of reason or of truth, and from the heights of empyrean poetry may despise the circumscriptions of terrestrial nature. There is no reason, why a mind thus wandering in ecstasy should count the clock; or why an hour should not be a

century in that calenture of the brains, that can make the stage a field.

‘The truth is, that the spectators are always in their senses, and know from the first act to the last, that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players. They come to hear a certain number of lines recited with just gesture, and elegant modulation. The lines relate to some action, and an action must be in some place: but the different actions, that complete a story, may be in places very remote from each other; and where is the absurdity of allowing that space to represent first Athens and then Sicily, which was always known to be neither Sicily nor Athens, but a modern theatre?’

‘By supposition, as Place is introduced, Time may be extended. The time, required by the fable, elapses for the most part between the acts: for, of so much of the action as is represented, the real and poetical duration is the same. If in the first act preparations for war against Mithridates are represented to be made in Rome, the event of the war may, without absurdity, be represented in the catastrophe as happening in Pontus. We know that there is neither war, nor preparations for war: we know that we are neither in Rome, nor Pontus; that neither Mithridates, nor Lucullus, is before us. The drama exhibits successive imitations of successive actions; and why may not the second imitation represent an action, that happened years after the first, if it be so connected with it, that nothing but time can be supposed to intervene? Time is, of all modes of existence, most obsequious to the imagination: a lapse of years is as easily conceived, as a passage of hours.’ In contemplation we easily contract the time

of real actions, and therefore willingly permit it to be contracted, when we only see their imitation.

‘It will be asked, “How the drama moves, if it is not credited?” It is credited, with all the credit due to a drama. It is credited, whenever it moves, as a just picture of a real original; as representing to the auditor what he would himself feel, if he were to do or suffer, what is there feigned to be suffered or to be done. The reflexion that strikes the heart is, not that the evils before us are real evils, but that they are evils to which we ourselves may be exposed. If there be any fallacy, it is not that we fancy the players, but that we fancy ourselves, unhappy for a moment: but we rather lament the possibility, than suppose the presence of misery, as a mother weeps over her babe, when she remembers that death may take it from her. The delight of tragedy proceeds from our consciousness of fiction; if we thought murders and treason real, they would please no more.

‘Imitations produce pain or pleasure, not because they are mistaken for realities, but because they bring realities to mind. When the imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, the trees are not supposed capable to give us shade, or the fountains coolness: but we consider, how we should be pleased with such fountains playing beside us, and such woods waving over us. We are agitated in reading the history of Henry V.; yet no man takes his book for the field of Agincourt. A dramatic exhibition is a book, recited with concomitants that increase or diminish its effect. Familiar comedy is often more powerful on the theatre, than in the page: imperial tragedy is always less. The humour of Petruchio may be heightened by grimace; but what voice, or what

gesture, can hope to add dignity or force to the soliloquy of Cato?

‘A play read affects the mind like a play acted. It is, therefore, evident, that the action is not supposed to be real; and it follows that between the acts a longer or shorter time may be allowed to pass, and that no more account of space or duration is to be taken by the auditor of a drama, than by the reader of a narrative, before whom may pass in an hour the life of a hero or the revolutions of an empire.

‘Whether Shakspeare knew the Unities, and rejected them by design or deviated from them by happy ignorance, it is, I think, impossible to decide, and useless to inquire. We may reasonably suppose that, when he rose to notice, he did not want the counsels and admonitions of scholars and critics; and that he at last deliberately persisted in a practice, which he might have begun by chance. As nothing is essential to the fable, but Unity of Action, and as the Unities of Time and Place arise evidently from false assumptions, and by circumscribing the extent of the drama lessen it's variety, I cannot think it much to be lamented, that they were not known by him, or not observed. Nor, if such another poet could arise, should I very vehemently reproach him that his first act passed at Venice, and his next in Cyprus. Such violations of rules merely positive become the comprehensive genius of Shakspeare; and such censures are suitable to the minute and slender criticism of Voltaire:

— *Non usque adeò permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint à Cæsare tolli.*

‘ Yet when I speak thus slightly of dramatic rules, I cannot but recollect how much wit and learning may be produced against me : before such authorities I am afraid to stand ; not that I think the present question one of those that are to be decided by mere authority, but because it is to be suspected, that these precepts have not been so easily received, but for better reasons than I have yet been able to find. The result of my inquiries, in which it would be ludicrous to boast of impartiality, is, that the Unities of Time and Place are not essential to a just drama : that, though they may sometimes conduce to pleasure, they are always to be sacrificed to the nobler beauties of variety and instruction ; and that a play, written with nice observation of critical rules, is to be contemplated as an elaborate curiosity, the product of superfluous and ostentatious art, by which is shown rather what is possible than what is necessary.

‘ He that, without diminution of any other excellence, shall preserve all the Unities unbroken, deserves the like applause with the architect, who shall display all the orders of architecture in a citadel without any deduction from it’s strength : but the principal beauty of a citadel is, to exclude the enemy ; and the greatest graces of a play are, to copy nature and instruct life.’

The works of Shakspeare have passed through many editions, and received elucidation from numerous commentators. Seven years after his death, his plays were collected and published in 1623 in folio, by his two brother comedians, Heminge and Condell. They were reprinted in 1632, 1664, and 1685 ; and in

1714, an edition was published in 8vo. by Mr. Nicholas Rowe. A new edition proceeded from Pope in 4to., in 1721; and another from Theobald in 8vo., in 1733, which was subsequently reprinted in ten volumes 12mo.

In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer gave to the world a pompous edition, at Oxford, in six volumes 4to.; and in 1747, Mr. Warburton, afterward Bishop of Gloucester, published another in eight volumes 8vo. This was succeeded by several others, particularly that of Dr. Johnson, in eight volumes 8vo., in 1765; that of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens in conjunction, in ten volumes 8vo.;* and that of Mr. Reed of Staples-Inn, also in ten volumes 8vo., in 1785.

We have only to add the following list of the dramatic works published under Shakspeare's name, distinguishing with an asterism those, which the critics with great reason reject as spurious.

1. The Tempest, a Comedy, pronounced by Warburton, with the Midsummer Night's Dream, to be the noblest of the author's efforts. It was first printed in 1623.

2. The Two Gentlemen of Verona, a Comedy. 1623.

3. 4. The First and Second Parts of King Henry IV. 4to. 1599, 1600.

5. The Merry Wives of Windsor, a Comedy, written at the command of Queen Elizabeth.

6. Measure for Measure, † a Comedy. 1623.

7. The Comedy of Errors. ‡

* This has, recently, re-appeared in 21 volumes, 8vo.

† The plot of this play is taken from a novel of Cinthio. VIII. 5.

‡ Founded upon the *Menæchmi* of Plautus.

8. *Much-a-do About Nothing*, * a Comedy. 4to. 1600.
9. *Love's Labour's Lost*, a Comedy. 4to. 1598.
10. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a Comedy. 4to. 1600.
11. *The Merchant of Venice*, a Comedy. 4to. 1600.
12. *As You Like It*, a Comedy. 1623.
13. *The Taming of the Shrew*, a Comedy.
14. *All's Well that Ends Well*, † a Comedy. 1623.
15. *The Twelfth Night; or, What you will*, a Comedy. 1623.
16. *The Winter's Tale*, ‡ a Comedy.
17. *The Life and Death of King John*, an historical play. 4to. 1591.
18. *The Life and Death of King Richard II.*, an historical play. 4to. 1598.
19. *The Life of King Henry V.*, an historical play. 4to. 1600.
20. 21. 22. *The First, Second, and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*, historical plays. 4to. 1600.
23. *The Life and Death of Richard III.*, with the Landing of the Earl of Richmond, and the Battle of Bosworth Field.
24. *The Life of King Henry VIII.* 1623.
25. *Troilus and Cressida*, § a Tragedy. 4to. 1609.
26. *Coriolanus*, a Tragedy. 1623.
27. *Titus Andronicus*, a Tragedy. 4to. 1594.

* For the plot see Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, V.

† Founded upon one of the novels of Boccaccio.

‡ The plot of this play is borrowed from Robert Green's novel of *Dorastus and Faunia*.

§ The plot from Chaucer, who had it from Lollius, an old Lombard author.

28. *Romeo and Juliet*, * a Tragedy. 4to. 1597.
 29. *Timon of Athens*, a Tragedy. 1623.
 30. *Julius Cæsar*, a Tragedy. 1623.
 31. *Macbeth*,† a Tragedy. 1623.
 32. *Hamlet*, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy. 4to. 1605.
 33. *King Lear*, ‡ a Tragedy. 4to. 1608.
 34. *Othello*, the Moor of Venice, § a Tragedy. 4to.
 35. *Antony and Cleopatra*, a Tragedy. 1623.
 36. *Cymbeline*, || a Tragedy. 1623.

- * 37. *Pericles*, Prince of Tyre; an historical play.
 * 38. *The London Prodigal*, a Comedy.
 * 39. *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, the favourite of King Henry VIII.
 * 40. *The History of Sir John Oldcastle*, the good Lord Cobham, a Tragedy.
 * 41. *The Puritan*; or, the Widow of Watling-street, a Comedy.
 * 42. *A Yorkshire Tragedy*.**
 * 43. *The Tragedy of Locrine*,†† the eldest Son of King Brutus.

* Founded upon a real tragedy which happened about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The story, with all its circumstances, is related by Girolamo Corte in his ‘History of Verona.’ Pope refers its origin to a novel by Bondello, which is translated in Painter’s ‘Palace of Pleasure.’

† The plot from Buchanan, and other Scottish historians.

* ‡ The plot from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

§ The plot from Cinthio’s Novels.

|| The plot partly from the Decameron of Boccaccio, II. 9, and partly from the ancient traditions of British history.

** This is rather an Interlude than a Tragedy, being very short, and not divided into acts.

†† See the story in Milton’s ‘History of England.’

SIR WALTER RALEGH.*

[1552—1618.]

THIS ornament of his country, in whom was combined almost every variety of talent with almost every acquirement of science, and who with the most heroic courage of chivalry united the most ardent spirit of enterprise, was the fourth son of Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood near Plymouth, an ancient and very respectable family in Devonshire. His mother was Katharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, Esq. of Compton in Devonshire. To Mr. Raleigh she bore two sons, Carew and Walter. The latter was born in 1552, at Hayes Farm, † in the parish of Budley, Devonshire, near the spot where the Ottery discharges itself into the British Channel. On attaining the age of sixteen, he was sent

* **AUTHORITIES.** Oldys', Birch's, and Cayley's *Lives of Sir Walter Raleigh*; Fuller's *Worthies of Devon*; Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*; and Mortimer's *History of England*.

† Of this farm, belonging to a Mr. Drake, his father had only a lease. This appears from a letter addressed to that gentleman by Sir Walter in 1584, when his fortunes had begun to flourish, entreating to purchase it; as 'for the natural disposition he had to it, being born in that house, he had rather seat himself there than any where else.'

to finish his education at the University of Oxford, where he became a gentleman-commoner of Oriel College. There he distinguished himself by the strength and vivacity of his genius, and by his close application to his studies: notwithstanding which, however, a disposition for more active scenes of life frequently discovered itself in his conversation. His father therefore, finding the thirst of fame his ruling passion, resolved to introduce him into the military service. Accordingly, after remaining a short time at Oxford, in 1569 he became one of the troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, whom Queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champenon to conduct into France, for the service of the Protestant princes. FINEM DET MIHI VIRTUS, or 'Let valour decide the contest,' streamed on their standard. Here Raleigh enjoyed the opportunity at once of acquiring experience in the art of war, of improving himself in the knowledge of the modern languages, and of acquiring all the accomplishments of a gentleman. He did not return till the end of the year 1575.*

* "In France," says Hooker, "he spent good part of his youth in wars and martial services." That he became a student of the Middle Temple after quitting college, is disproved by his own testimony; for in his reply to the Attorney-General upon his arraignment, he lays a heavy imprecation upon himself, "if ever he read a word of law or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower." If therefore the lines prefixed to Gascoigne's 'Steele-glass,' and subscribed 'Walter Rawely of the Middle Temple,' were (as, from other circumstances, it is probable they were) his, we must conclude that young gentlemen then, as at present, occasionally occupied chambers in the Inns of Court, without ever studying much less intending to practise the law.

At the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, which (according to Natalis Comes) destroyed 60,500 victims of all ranks and ages, he perhaps found refuge in the ambassador Walsingham's

The activity of his temper, however, did not suffer him to rest long at home ; for in 1578, he entered into the service of the Prince of Orange against the Spaniards.

Soon after this, he had an opportunity of trying his fortune at sea. His half-brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, having obtained a patent to plant and settle some of the northern parts of America, not claimed by any nation in alliance with England, Raleigh engaged with a considerable party in an expedition to Newfoundland. But the voyage proved unsuccessful : for divisions arising among the volunteers, Sir Humphry was in 1579 obliged to set sail with only a few of his friends ; and, after various misfortunes, returned with the loss of one of his ships in an engagement, in which Raleigh himself was exposed to great danger.

In 1580, the Spanish and Italian forces having invaded Ireland, under the Pope's banner, for the support of the Desmonds then in rebellion in the province of Munster, he obtained a captain's commission under the Lord Deputy Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton ; where under the command of Thomas Earl of Ormond, governor of Munster, he surprised the Irish kerns at Rekell, and took every rebel upon the spot.* He assisted, likewise, at the siege of Fort Del

house, in company with Lord Wharton, young Philip Sidney, and others. During the whole interval from 1569 to 1579, of the twenty-four hours (we are told) he allowed only five to sleep, and constantly devoted four to study.

* Among them was one loaded with withs (or willows), who being asked, ' What he intended to have done with them ? ' rudely answered, ' To have hung up the English churls ; ' upon which Raleigh said, ' They should now serve for an Irish kern,'

Ore, which the Spanish troops had built as a place of retreat. The Lord Deputy himself besieging it by land, Sir William Winter the Admiral by sea, and Raleigh commanding in the trenches, it was obliged to surrender at discretion; and the principal part of the garrison were (under the superintendence of the latter and Mackworth, who first entered the castle) inhumanly put to the sword.

During the winter of this year, Raleigh had quarters assigned him at Cork; when observing the seditious practices of David Lord Barry and others, he took a journey to Dublin, and remonstrated with Lord Grey so strongly upon the occasion, that his Lordship gave him full commission to seize the lands of this turbulent nobleman, and to reduce him to peace and subjection by such means as he should think proper; for which purpose, he was furnished with a party of horse. But before he could carry his purpose into effect, Barry himself burnt his castle to the ground, though it was his principal seat, and laid waste the country round it with greater devastation, than even the zeal of his enemies would have inflicted.

In his return to his quarters, Raleigh was attacked by Fitz-Edmonds, an old rebel of Barry's faction, at

and ordered him immediately to be hanged. We read of another rebel of higher rank named O'Rourke, who petitioned that, 'instead of a rope, he might be hanged in a withy;' assigning, as a reason for his request, that 'it was a distinction, which had been paid to his countrymen before him.' This example Lord Bacon applies, to illustrate the tyranny of custom.

At this siege, fell the son of Sir John Cheke.

a fort between Youghal and Cork. Though inferior however in number, he forced his way through the enemy, and crossed the river. A gentleman of his company who was by some accident thrown into the middle, between the fear of drowning and of being taken, calling out for help, Raleigh with some difficulty extricated him from his perilous situation. He now waited, with a staff in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his company, who were yet on the farther side of the river: upon which Fitz-Edmonds, though he had got a reinforcement of twelve men, finding him thus bravely stand his ground, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and retired.

In 1581, the Earl of Ormond going to England, his government of Munster was given to Captain Raleigh, in commission with Sir William Morgan and Captain Piers. Raleigh resided, for some time, at Lismore; but afterward returning, with his little band of eighty foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork, he received intelligence that Barry was at Clove with several hundred men: upon which, he attacked him at the head of all his forces with great gallantry, and put him to flight. Pursuing his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy, whom, though he had only six horsemen with him, he likewise defeated with considerable loss.

For these, and other signal services, he received a grant from the crown of a large estate in Ireland. But a misunderstanding between him and the Lord Deputy,* prevented his advancing in his profession.

* "I have spent some time here," says he in a letter to the Earl of Leicester (dated from the camp at Lismore, August 25,

On the return of both parties to England, their cause was heard before the Privy Council; where Raleigh is said to have defended his cause with so much ability, that it materially contributed, with his other accomplishments, to introduce him to the notice of the court.*

Not content, however, with the smiles of courtiers, he was ambitious of attracting the royal notice: and an opportunity speedily offered, which showed that gallantry was not the least of his qualifications. Her Majesty (says Fuller) in one of her walks

1581) under the Deputy in such poor place and charge, as were it not that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sheep. I will not trouble your honour with the business of this lost land; for that Sir Warham St. Leger can best of any man deliver unto your Lordship the good, the bad, the mischiefs, the means to amend, and all in all of this commonwealth, or rather common woe!"

* See Naunton's '*Fragmenta Regalia*,' where this dispute is assigned among the second causes of his growth.—"What advantage he had in the case in controversy, I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale; insomuch that the Queen and the Lords took no slight mark of the man and his parts: for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Lords. And then we are not to doubt, how such a man would comply to progression; and whether or no my Lord of Leicester had the cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done him no harm, I do not determine: but true it is, he had gotten the Queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his election, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. And the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all: yea, those that he relied on, began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing,

' Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown.' "

meeting with a plashy place, made some scruple to go on : when Raleigh, dressed in the gay and genteel habit of those times, presently cast off and spread his new plush-cloak on the ground ; whereon the Queen trod gently over, rewarding him afterward with many suits for his so free and seasonable a tender of so fair a foot-cloth. This adventure indeed, joined to a handsome person, a polite address, and a ready wit, could not fail to recommend him to his susceptible Sovereign. Accordingly, coming to court shortly afterward, and meeting with a flattering reception, he took an opportunity of inscribing with a diamond, upon a window, the following line :

“ Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall ;”

which Elizabeth elegantly turned to a couplet, suggesting that if he did not rise, it would be his own fault :

“ If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.” *

After such a challenge, it is no wonder that he made a rapid progress in her Majesty’s favour.

In 1582, he was selected with other persons of distinction to accompany the Duke of Anjou to the Netherlands ; and, upon his return, he brought letters to her Majesty from the Prince of Orange. The year following, he engaged with his brother Gilbert in a second expedition to Newfoundland ; but after he had been two or three days at sea, a contagious distemper seized the whole crew, and he was obliged

* Both these stories are recorded by Fuller, in his ‘ *Worthies of Devon*. ’

to return to port.* Ill-success, however, could not divert Raleigh from a scheme, which he deemed important to the interests of his country. He therefore drew up an account of it's advantages, and laid it before the Queen and her Council, who were so well satisfied with it, that her Majesty granted him letters-patent authorising him to 'discover such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, or inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them should seem good; and to hold the same with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, &c.'

Upon this, he immediately fitted out two vessels, which reached the gulf of Florida in the beginning of July; and, after coasting along for about a hundred and twenty miles, debarked on an island called Wokoken, of which he took formal possession in the name of his royal mistress. He then inquired into the strength of the indian nations, and their con-

* By this accident, he escaped the calamities of an expedition, in which Sir Humphry, after having taken possession of Newfoundland for the English crown, on his return home unfortunately perished. This eminent man, observes Granger, possessed many of the various talents, by which his illustrious half-brother was distinguished. In his military capacity, he had gained a considerable reputation in Ireland; and by sea, as an enterprising adventurer, he opened to his country the way of commerce and prosperity. Like Raleigh, he pursued his studies upon both elements, and even in the dreadful tempest, which swallowed up his vessel, he was seen sitting unmoved at the stern with a book in his hand, frequently exclaiming, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land." He always wore on his breast a golden anchor, suspended to a pearl, which was given him by the Queen. He wrote a discourse to prove, that 'there is a North-West passage to the Indies.'

nexions, alliances, and contests with each other; and on his return to England, made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate, that Elizabeth readily patronised the design of settling a colony in that country, and bestowed upon it the name of ‘ Virginia.’

About two months after Raleigh’s return, in 1584, he was chosen knight of the shire for his native county of Devon; and the same year the Queen, though extremely frugal and judicious in bestowing her honours, as a distinguishing token of her favour conferred upon him the order of knighthood. She granted him, at the same time, a patent to license the vending of Wines by retail throughout the kingdom.*

He was now so intent upon planting his new colony, that in April 1585† he despatched a fleet of seven sail, under the command of his cousin Sir Richard Greeneville or Grenville, a gentleman who acquired the highest degree of reputation both in the land and sea-service. Sir Richard, upon his landing, sent a deputation to the Indian king, whose name was Wingina, requesting permission to establish a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, and to visit the country. And, after availing himself to a consider-

* This grant involved him, shortly afterward, in a dispute with the University of Cambridge, which claimed the exclusive privilege of issuing wine-licences within the limits of its own jurisdiction, and had its claim allowed.

† He had the preceding month, in conjunction with his half-brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, for the purpose of discovering the North-West passage he anticipated, sent out Captain Davis, an experienced navigator, who soon afterward fell upon the well-known Davis’ straits. Upon this account, a promontory in that neighbourhood is still called ‘ Mount Raleigh.’

able extent of the privilege, and leaving one hundred and seven persons (among whom was the celebrated mathematician, Thomas Hariot) to settle the colony, he set sail for England; taking, in his passage homeward, a Spanish prize estimated at 50,000*l*.

This was not the only circumstance of good fortune, which happened to Sir Walter this year. The rebellion in Ireland being now totally suppressed, her Majesty granted him twelve thousand acres of the forfeited lands in the counties of Cork and Waterford,* which he immediately planted at his own expense.

Encouraged by this noble donation, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia: but the party left by Grenville, having suffered great distresses, had procured a passage to England with Sir Francis Drake, on his return from his conquest of St. Domingo, Carthagená, and St. Augustine. Raleigh indeed, in the preceding spring, had despatched a ship of one hundred tons to their succour; but she did not arrive, before they had abandoned their new settlement.†

About this time, likewise, Raleigh engaged in other plans, for the improvement of the navigation and commerce of his country. To indemnify

* This, forming a part of the very extensive territories of the Earl of Desmond (574,000 acres), he sold near the close of Elizabeth's reign to Richard Boyle, afterward the great Earl of Cork, and thus laid the foundation of that family's fortune.

† They brought back with them the *Nicotiana*, or Tobacco, so called from Tabaco, a province of Yucatan. The Spaniards, who first imported it into Europe, had discovered it about the year 1560. Raleigh was, himself, very fond of smoking it.

him in some measure for the expense of these patriotic undertakings, the Queen bestowed upon him additional grants of land, and farther emoluments on his Wine-licences.

In the latter end of 1586, her Majesty made him Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall. She also conferred upon him, in the ensuing year, a grant of the lands of Antony Babington, the hero of the conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots which goes by his name. But these preferments exposed him to considerable envy. Even the Earl of Leicester, who had previously been his friend, grew jealous of him, and set up in opposition to him the young Earl of Essex. Neither the factions of the court however, nor the aspersions of the people, whom Raleigh disdained to flatter,* could deter him from attending to the duties of his several employments.

In 1587, he collected a new levy of a hundred and fifty men for Virginia; appointing Mr. John

* That he could never condescend to court the people by the usual arts, is noticed by Lord Burghley, in a breath with Essex's affectation of popularity, among his precepts to his son: "Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Raleigh." And he never was a favourite with them, till after his trial. The injustice and cruelty of his sentence, however, soon made his cause universally popular: and, a martyr to the weakness and timidity of his Sovereign, he has filled an ample space in the eye of posterity. (Cayley's *Life*, II 209.) To the same writer we owe a conclusive vindication of Raleigh against the seventeen arguments of Hume, adduced in Note I. (*Hist. Eng.* VI. 555.) which he there calls, 'clearing up' Sir Walter's story, but which (Mr. C. justly adds) either from indolence or design, contain a series of most gross misrepresentations.

White governor with twelve assistants, and incorporating them by the name of ‘The Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.’ On their arrival at Hatteras, White despatched a strong party to Roanoke,* expecting to find there some of the party, which had been left upon it by Sir Richard Grenville; but they sought them in vain. They afterward discovered, that several of them had been murdered by the savages, and the rest driven to a remote part of the country. The apprehensions of a Spanish invasion, in 1588, prevented the sailing of supplies, to the great distress of the colony and the vexation of its proprietor.†

About this time, Sir Walter was advanced to the post of Captain of her Majesty’s Guard, and was one of the Council of War appointed to concert the most effectual methods for the security of the nation; upon which occasion he drew up a plan, affording ample proof of his judgement and his abilities. But he did not confine himself to the mere office of giving advice. He raised and disciplined the militia of Cornwall; and, having done every thing in his power at land, joined the fleet with a squadron of volunteers, and had a considerable share in the defeat of the Armada. His exertions upon this signal occasion justly raised him still higher in the favour of Elizabeth, who now made him Gentleman of her Privy Chamber.

* An island up the river Occam.

† Shrinking at last, from the almost insurmountable difficulties incident to a single proprietor, and the expenses still to be incurred in addition to what he had already disbursed (40,000*l.*) he determined, in 1589. to transfer his right to a company of gentlemen and merchants of London, reserving only to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore.

In 1589 Don Antonio, King of Portugal, being expelled from his dominions by Philip II. of Spain, the English Queen contributed six men of war and sixty thousand pounds to his assistance, and encouraged her subjects to concur in the same design. Accordingly Raleigh, with Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Norris, and 20,000 volunteers, accompanied that Prince to Portugal; and, during the whole expedition, his conduct was so entirely satisfactory to her Majesty, that she honoured him with a gold chain.

On his way homeward he appears to have touched upon the Irish coast, probably with a view of making a short visit to his seignory there; for about this time he must have formed his acquaintance with Spenser, who had gone over to that island as Secretary to the Lord Deputy Grey, and having received from the Earl of Desmond's extensive forfeitures a grant of at least 3,000 acres in the county of Cork, had settled at Kilcolman near the river Mulla. Of this illustrious poet, none of the great men in Elizabeth's court, after the death of Sidney, was so kind a patron as Sir Walter Raleigh. He now paid the bard a visit, the particulars of which Spenser has agreeably celebrated, in his '*Colin Clout's come home again* : '*

* In his dedication of this poem, he says: "I make you present of this simple pastoral, unworthy of your higher conceit for the meanness of the stile, but agreeable with the truth in circumstance and matter; the which I humbly beseech you to accept in part of payment of the infinite debt, in which I acknowledge myself bounden to you for your singular favours, and sundry good turns, showed me at my last being in England; and with your good countenance protect against the malice of evil mouths, which are always wide open to carp at, and misconstrue, my simple meaning."

' One day, quoth he, I sat, as was my trade
 Under the lost of Mole, that mountain hoar,
 Keeping my sheep amongst the coolly shade
 Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore.
 There a strange shepherd chanced to find me out.
 Whether allured by my pipe's delight,
 Whose pleasing sound yet thrilled far about,
 Or thither led by chance, I know not right :
 Whom when I asked, from what place he came,
 And how he hight ; himself he did yclep
 ' The Shepherd of the Ocean ' by name,
 And said he came far from the main-sea deep.
 He, sitting me beside in that same shade,
 Provoked me to play some pleasant fit ;
 And, when he heard the music which I made,
 He found himself full greatly pleased at it.
 Yet æmuling my pipe he took in hand
 My pipe, before that, emuled of many
 And play'd thereon (for well that skill he conn'd)
 Himself as skilful in that art as any.

* As an additional proof of Spenser's opinion of this accomplished man, may be quoted his sonnet prefixed to the ' Fairy Queen : '

*To the right noble and valorous knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord
 Warden of the Stannaries, and Lieutenant of Cornwall.*

' To thee, that art the summer's nightingale,
 Thy sovereign goddess ' sincere delight,
 Why do I send this rustic madrigal,
 That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite ?
 Thou only fit this argument to write,
 In whose high thoughts Pleasure hath built her bower,
 And dainty Love learn'd sweetly to indite.
 My rhymes I know unsavoury and sour.
 To taste the streams that, like a golden shower,
 Flow from thy fruitful head of thy love's praise ;
 Fitter perhaps to thunder martial store,
 Whenso they list thy lofty Muse to raise :
 Yet, till that thou thy poem wilt make known.
 Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shown.'

He piped, I sung; and when he sung, I piped,
 By change of turns each making other merry;
 Neither envying other, nor envied:
 So piped we, until we both were weary.'

From a subsequent passage:

' His song was all a lamentable lay
 Of great unkindness, and of usage hard
 Of Cynthia, the Lady of the Sea,
 Which from her presence faultless him debarr'd:

and from what follows, we may conclude that Raleigh, if he had lost, soon recovered Elizabeth's favour; and taking Spenser back with him introduced him at court:

' The Shepherd of the Ocean,' quoth he,
 Unto that goddess' grace me first enhanced,
 And to my oaten pipe inclined her ear;
 That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
 And it desired at timely hours to hear,
 Allwere my notes but rude and roughly dight.'

He had now concerted the project of intercepting the Spanish Plate-fleet, and for this purpose, in conjunction with other adventurers, fitted out a maritime force consisting of thirteen ships; to which Elizabeth added two men of war, giving him a commission as General of the fleet, and conferring the lieutenant-generalship on Sir John Burgh.

The winds proving adverse, he could not leave the coast of England till the sixth of May, and the day following, Sir Martin Frobisher overtook him with the Queen's letters of recall. Imagining his honour, however, engaged in the undertaking, he pursued his course; though the King of Spain, he was informed, had ordered that 'no ships should sail that

year, nor any treasure he brought from the West-Indies.' On the eleventh of May, meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, he divided his fleet into two squadrons, committing one to Sir John Burgh and the other to Sir Martin Frobisher; with directions to the latter to lie off the South Cape, in order to alarm the Spaniards on their coasts, while the former at the Azores waited for the carracks from the East-Indies: after which, he returned home.

The success of these directions was answerable to the judgement, by which they were suggested: for the Spanish Admiral, collecting his whole naval power to watch Frobisher; left the carracks unguarded; and the Madre de Dios, at that time esteemed the richest prize ever brought to England, was seized by Sir John Burgh.*

Raleigh's enemies, envious of his influence over Elizabeth, now employed every means to effect his disgrace. Tarleton, a comedian, was encouraged by Essex and his party to introduce into a play, at which the Queen was present, an allusion to Sir Walter, comparing him to the Knave, which in certain games at cards 'governs the Queen:' her Majesty however, highly displeased with this licence, forbade Tarleton and all her jesters to approach her table.† In the next place, as he had rendered himself

* The least of the men of war however, having been at the taking of her, the queen of 'lion-port,' made use of her authority to claim the largest share of the booty, and is represented (by Sir William Monson, in his 'Naval Tracts') to have "dealt but indifferently" upon the occasion.

† See Bohun's character of Queen Elizabeth.

obnoxious to the clergy by having received a royal grant of some church-lands, a libel was published against him at Lyons by one Parsons a Jesuit, on the subject of his tract called 'The School of Atheists;' in which, however, he only attacked the old scholastic divinity. But the Queen was made to believe, that it reflected dishonour on her father's memory; upon which, she gave him a severe reproof, and he was thenceforward branded with the title of 'Atheist.'

Shortly afterward, another incident had nearly ruined him in her favour. He had seduced Elizabeth, the beautiful daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of Elizabeth's maids of honour; and the intrigue transpiring, her Majesty ordered him to be confined for several months, and dismissed the lady from her attendance.*

Upon his release, he appeared as a conspicuous speaker in parliament: and the following year was so entirely restored to favour, that he obtained a grant of the manor of Sherborn in Dorsetshire, which had been alienated from the see of Salisbury by Bishop Caldwell. Coker, in his Survey of this County, says; "Queen Elizabeth granted the fee-farm of it to Sir Walter, who began very fairly to build the castle. But altering his purpose, he built in a park adjoining to it, out of the ground, a most fine house; which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight. So that, whether you consider the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other delicacies

* He subsequently married the frail fair one, and in this state they became examples of conjugal affection and fidelity.

belonging to it, it rests unparalleled by any in these parts."

In 1594, was born his eldest son Walter.

While he continued under the Queen's displeasure, he had projected his first voyage to Guiana in South-America, of whose principal city, El Dorado, † he had read in the narratives of Spanish voyages the most magnificent descriptions; and in this enterprise the High Admiral, Lord Effingham, and Sir Robert Cecil warmly concurred. Accordingly, having equipped a squadron at a great expense, he arrived at the Isle of Trinidad on the twenty-second of March, 1595, where he made himself master of St. Joseph an inconsiderable city, and took the governor prisoner. Then quitting his ship, he with a hundred men, in several barks, sailed four hundred miles up the river Oronoco, in search of Guiana; but the heat of the weather, and the rapidity of the torrents, obliged him to return.

The following year, he was engaged in the important expedition to Cadiz, in which the Earl of Essex and Lord Effingham were joint commanders. On the twentieth of June, they appeared before Cadiz. The Admiral having suggested, that the land-forces should attack the town first, in order to secure the fleet from being exposed to the joint fire of the ships and

* Antony Bacon, in a letter written early in the year 1593, says: "Sir Walter, having been almost a year in disgrace for several occasions (as I think, you have heard) is yet hovering between fear and hope, notwithstanding his great share of the rich carrack."

† Or Manoa, two days' journey in length, and shining with gold and silver.

the adjacent forts, and in this opinion the Council of War * concurring, Essex was putting his men into boats in order to land them for this purpose; when Raleigh gave him such cogent reasons against it, that the Earl perceived the necessity of altering his plan, and desired his adviser to address himself to Effingham upon the subject. The Admiral was convinced; and deferred the assault till the next day. Upon this attack, in which Raleigh equally distinguished himself by his prudence and his bravery, † the city was taken and plundered, many of the principal ships belonging to the Spaniards were run ashore, and the galleons with all their treasure consumed, in order to prevent their falling into the assailants' hands.

In 1507, the Queen having resolved to fit out another expedition to intercept the Plate-fleet near the Azores, placed Essex, and under him Lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh, at its head: when the latter, by taking Fayal, (an enterprise, which the General had reserved for himself) excited the jealousy of his irritable superior. In 1598, he was even spoken of, as Lord Deputy for Ireland; and, in 1600, the government of Jersey was conferred upon him, with the manor and lordship of St. Germain in the same island.

Now came the misfortunes, and the condemnation, of the imprudent Essex. On this occasion there is extant a letter of Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, first

* Consisting of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford. Sir Walter, however, did not attend upon this occasion.

† He received a wound in the leg from a splinter, during the action.

printed in 'Murdin's State-Papers,' which is too curious and too characteristic to be omitted:

"Sir, I am not wise enough to give you advice; but, if you take it for a good counsel to relent toward this tyrant, you will repent it when it shall be too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of your mild courses: for he will ascribe the alteration to her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not to your good-nature; knowing that you work upon her humour, and not out of any love toward him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours; and, if her Majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after-revenges, fear them not; for your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not; but grow by occasion, and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland, that now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives, that murdered the brother of Horsey; and Horsey let him go by, all his lifetime. I could name a thousand of those; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures from causes remote: look to the present and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest earl of England but one; and if his father be not kept down, Will. Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels, and more too. He may, also, match in a better house than his; and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny.

"Let the Queen hold Bothwell, while she hath him; he will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days and all ours, after his liberty. Your's, &c.

"WALTER RALEGH."

This letter (as Sir Egerton Brydges justly remarks) exhibits an appalling picture of the course of human affairs; of the modes by which success in the paths of public life is too frequently attained and secured, and the consequent value there ~~must~~ be in a long transmission of honours and riches, which if they were the blessing they are too generally supposed to be, would when thus gotten be an impeachment on the justice of Providence. Another awful lesson is here exhibited: Raleigh, in this dreadful letter, is pressing forward for a rival that snare, by which he afterward himself perished! He urges Cecil to get rid of Essex: by that riddance he himself became no longer necessary to Cecil, as a counterpoise to Essex's power. Then it was that Cecil, become an adept in the abominable lesson of this letter, and conscious of his minor talents but more persevering cunning, resolved to disencumber himself of the ascendent abilities, and aspiring and dangerous ambition of Raleigh.

We speak of these times (adds the same eloquent writer) with enthusiasm: our imaginations are inflamed with their chivalrous spirit, and the magnanimous understanding and heart of the Princess who sat upon the throne! But does not a more deep and calm reflection see much to disapprove, and much which fills us with horror, in this boasted reign? A monarch of sagacity and resolution, whose affections

were set upon the happiness and glory of her nation, and who generally employed fit means for her purposes, yet of despotic principles, liable to fits of caprice, and even favouritism; untouched by finer feelings; exacting hard measure in the services of those, whom she employed; and by no means nice in the sacrifice of any one, whom her opinion of state-necessity induced her to abandon.

Her favouritism, though it yielded at last, after a dangerous and fatal struggle, to her sense of public duty, displayed itself most glaringly in the case of Essex. In this fond play-thing of transient fortune, there were many showy and attractive qualities; but let us ask our sober reason where were the great virtues, or the transcendent intellect, or the unselfish heroism? What affair did he conduct, what expedition did he command, in which he showed superior skill? In what great business was he employed, in which the gratification of his own private fame and vanity does not appear the primary object? A childish jealousy of Raleigh induced him to thwart great national concerns, over which he ought not to have presided.

When we see this young nobleman put over the head of Raleigh, a man of so much longer experience, of talents so much more profound, of enduring fortitude so much more sublime; what can we say for this occasional weakness of a princess, whose exercise of the reins of power we are so habituated to extol? We must not attribute it to the superior birth and rank of Essex; though this would have been at least as excusable, as that absurd and unseasonable attachment of old age to youth, from which it flowed. The Queen, however, gave a

degree of superiority to birth and rank, which in our more enlightened days excites a just indignation. If it be unwise to make the road of ascent to low men too easy, Raleigh was not a low man: and great talents, long tried and well exerted, ought at all times and in every state to have the first place.

But this illustrious Queen, whose magnanimous spirit and powerful sagacity knew in general by what instruments to govern, carried to the grave with her all the sunshine and all the happiness of Raleigh. Now the storm, which the witchery of the wicked Cecil had been conjuring together, burst upon his head. A Prince from the North, with a meanness of soul which had no parallel, and a narrow subtilty of intellect which was worse than folly, ascended the British throne, and changed the face and character of the court and the nation. Unable to relish a man of so enterprising and martial a spirit, the royal pedant frowned on Raleigh, dismissed him from his post of Captain of the Guard, and within three months entertained a charge against him of high treason. This supposed conspiracy, so well known by the name of 'Raleigh's plot,' remains a mystery to this day. Brooke Lord Cobham, and Lord Grey de Wilton,* were involved in the charge, and themselves and their ancient houses sunk under it.

On November 17, 1603, Raleigh was brought to his trial at Winchester, accused of having projected to advance the Lady Arabella Stuart to the crown. †

* Lord Grey died in the Tower in 1614, and Lord Cobham survived Sir Walter about three months, in miserable poverty.

† Other charges were, that 'he had carried on a secret correspondence with the King of Spain, meditated the re-introduction of popery. &c. &c.'

The wretched Cobham was produced as an evidence; he was tampered with, and equivocated. Raleigh was found guilty; and sentence of death was pronounced against him.

Sir Dudley Carleton in a celebrated letter, descriptive of this trial, says, "After sentence given, his request was to have his answers related to the King, and pardon begged: of which if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgement, that save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quàm res*, and an ill name half-hanged, in the opinion of all men he had been acquitted." It was universally allowed, that there was no legal evidence sufficient to justify the verdict.

That verdict in the end, says Mr. Cayley, so far touched some of the jury in conscience, that they demanded pardon of Sir Walter on their knees; and (however fabulous it may appear, after a perusal of the trial) Coke, who had retired into a garden for fresh air, on being informed that they had brought in Raleigh 'guilty of treason,' is said to have exclaimed to the messenger, "Thou art surely mistaken; I myself only accused him of misprision of treason."

At any rate, we must allow, that no circumstance appeared in the course of his trial, which could justify Raleigh's condemnation. And that the written evidence of a single witness (a man without honour or understanding, contradictory in his testimony, not confronted with Sir Walter, and unsup-

ported by any concurring circumstance) should be the ground of it, should cost him an imprisonment of about twelve years with the loss of most of his property, and in the end be the plea for taking away his life, must be pronounced a proceeding scandalous in the extreme.'

Upon this occasion Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General, to the eternal disgrace of his memory, made use of the grossest abuse against his illustrious victim, stigmatising him with the opprobrious titles of 'Traitor, Monster, Viper, and Spider of Hell; '* ~~—~~which, to his high honour, he bore without vouchsafing either reply or remonstrance.

But the true cause of this infamous persecution was, the active part which he had taken against the Scottish interest. Apprehensive that all the posts of honour and emolument would be engrossed by Caledonians to the entire exclusion of native claimants, he had proposed in council, a short time before the death of Elizabeth, that 'James should be bound to bring into England only a limited number of his countrymen, upon his accession to the English throne; and that they should not be suffered like locusts to devour this kingdom.' † This proposition was over-

* His treatment of the unfortunate Wraynham, whose case is more particularly referred to in the ensuing Life of Lord Bacon, and of Cowel the celebrated Civilian (author of 'The Interpreter') whom by an irreconcilable contradiction he alternately traduced to James I., as having limited the royal prerogative, and to the Commons, as having asserted the King to be independent of parliament, vulgarly affecting to fasten on him the nickname of Dr. Cow-Fieel, proves to what base measures even great minds can occasionally for the gratification of base passions descend.

† Osborn's Miscellaneous Works, II. 134.

ruled; but it was never forgiven by James, and his northern minions. And it must be confessed, that Raleigh never sought by temporising to abate their malice: on the contrary, when he found that his prophetic fears were realised, and that none but Scotchmen met with countenance at court, he intrepidly exclaimed against such gross partiality in their favour.

Yet after sentence was passed, such was the love and veneration of the people for the hero of his country, that the cowardly court durst not proceed to execution. He was reprieved, and remanded to the Tower; where not long afterward, upon the unwearied solicitations of his lady, he was allowed the consolation of her company.*

It was during this interval of suspense, before he received information of his reprieve, that he addressed to his wife the following letter:

“ You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess: let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And, seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

“ First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and care taken for me; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my

* His younger son, Carew, was born in prison in 1604

debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world.

“ Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death. But, by your travails, seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me ; I am but dust.

“ Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed *bonâ fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelvemonths. My honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dalberrie too . can remember somewhat therein : and I trust my blood will quench their malice, that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial ; and I plainly perceive, that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness, I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it ; half my stuff, and all my jewels, but some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that great God that ruleth all in all. But, if you can live free from want, care for no more ; the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him ; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed, and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God, while he is yet young,

that the fear of God may grow up with him. And then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband, and a father, which cannot be taken from you.

“ Bayly oweth me 200*l.*, and Adrian Gilbert 600*l.* In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Besides, the arrearages of the Wines will pay my debts; and, howsoever you do, for my soul's sake pay all poor men.

“ When I am gone, no doubt, you shall be sought to by many; for the world thinks, that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections. For they last not, but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterward to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage: for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world, and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

‘ Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the Lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours, that I desired life. But it is true, that I disdain myself for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who in his own respect despiseth death, and all his mis-shapen and ugly forms.

“ I cannot write much. God, he knoweth, how hardly I steal this time, while others sleep: and it is also high time, that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body which, living,

was denied thee; and either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church by my father and mother. I can say no more: time and death call me away.

“The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine; have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers; and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom! My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms!

“Written with the dying hand of, sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown,

“Yours that was, but now not my own,

“WALTER RALEGH.”

James, likewise, granted him his forfeited estate for the benefit of his wife and children: but this was only for his own life; as he had some years before, on resolving to accept a challenge from Sir Amias Preston, made it over to his eldest son. But that son derived no benefit from the reversion: Car, the King's new favourite, having cast his eyes upon it, and by Coke's assistance discovered a flaw* in the conveyance, upon which judgement was given in the Exchequer in favour of the crown. The grant to Sir Walter for life became void; and Sherborne,† with others of his estates, was transferred to Car in 1609.

* ‘The want of one single word,’ writes Carew Raleigh, ‘which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk.’ See his Petition to the House of Commons.

† Subsequently valued at 5000*l.* per ann., and now the seat of Earl Digby.

In various ways, however, Raleigh contrived to soften the rigours of his long confinement. Many of his prison-hours, beside enabling him to enrich the world with it's own History, were allotted to chemical and medical pursuits, for which he appears to have had a strong partiality. To them, probably, may be ascribed his celebrated Cordial, which possessed such high repute in the time of Charles II., that his Majesty commanded Le Febvre, the Royal Professor of Chemistry and apothecary in ordinary to his household, not only to prepare a quantity of 'the precious remedy' in the exactest manner, but also to compose a treatise upon it's virtues.* During the last illness of his friend Prince Henry, when the Queen (as we are informed by Welwood) "sent to Sir Walter for some of his cordial, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before with remarkable success, Raleigh sent it, together with a letter to the Queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the Prince; and boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, that 'it would certainly cure him or any other of a fever, except in case of poison.' The Prince dying though he took it, the Queen in the agony of her grief showed Raleigh's letter; and laid so much stress on the expression about 'poison,' that to her dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, that her beloved son had had foul play done him."†

* Mr. Cayley, in his Appendix, No. XV. (II. 399.) has given the recipe as specified by this writer, with the ingredients introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Alexander Fraiser in *Italics*. It is preserved, in a simpler form, in the London Pharmacopœia, under the title, 'Aromatic Confection.'

† Of Raleigh's grief upon this unlucky event, which occurred

The following letter, addressed in 1611 to Prince Henry,* while it honestly points out to his royal friend the weakness to which he was most addicted, applauds at the same time, with equal honesty, the better part of his disposition :

‘ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

‘ The following sheets are addressed to your Highness from a man, who values his liberty and a very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honours that he could any where enjoy under any other establishment. You see, Sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father ‘ God’s Vicegerent ;’ which ill men have turned both

November 6, 1612, the two following passages extracted from his ‘ History of the World,’ afford sufficient evidence :

“ Of the art of war by sea, I had written a Treatise for the Lord Henry Prince of Wales ; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man ancient or modern. But God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss ; by the loss of that brave Prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is, to equal words and sorrows : I will thereafter leave him in the hands of God, that hath him. ‘ *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*’ ”

* * * * *

“ Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself the ‘ First part of the General History of the World,’ implying a second and third volume, which I also intended and have hewn out ; beside many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed. Whose unspeakable, and never-enough-lamented, loss hath taught me to say with Job, ‘ *Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*’ ”

* Inserted by the authority of Sir Richard Steele, who does not however record the occasion, upon which it was written.

to the dishonour of God; and the impeachment of his Majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His Majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare, that may lie under gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, O my Prince; hear them not, fly from their deceptions. You are in the succession to a throne, from whence no evil can be imputed to you; but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called, 'the Vicegerent of Heaven.' While he is good, he is the Vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the fountain of good to do evil? No, my Prince: let mean and degenerate spirits, which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

'Let me not doubt but all plans, which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

'Exhort yourself, O generous Prince, against such sycophants in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free agents, and to your own royal house the divine right

of being their benefactors. Believe me, my Prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common-places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers, and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages, which will ever attend your Highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject, when you have lost his inclination: you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies, of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose, therefore, to be the king, or the conqueror, of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive.

‘I am, Sir, your Highness’ most faithful servant,

‘WALTER RALEGH.’

‘*London, August 12, 1611.*’

But, though he had the Queen’s protection, and the patronage of Prince Henry,* during the height

* “No King, but my father, would keep such a bird in a cage” was a saying of that glory of the Stuarts. (*Osborn’s Misc. Works*, II. 165.) He had long, it appears, solicited Sherborne

of Car's favour, he could not obtain his liberty till after the condemnation of that favourite (then Earl of Somerset) for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Upon this event, by means of fifteen hundred pounds given to a relation of the new minion, Sir George Villiers, he procured his enlargement, in March 1616, after above twelve years' confinement in the Tower.

He had, now, an opportunity of prosecuting his old scheme of settling Guiana; and his Majesty granted him a patent for that purpose, at least under the privy-seal, if not under the great-seal of England. Hence he was induced to decline an actual and full pardon, which his former friends, Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, offered to procure him for 700*l*. Sir Francis Bacon himself said to him; "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular: for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already; the king having under his broad seal made you Admiral of his fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers."

Of this expedition, the whole expense was defrayed by Raleigh and his friends. After various disappointments on their passage, in November they came in sight of Guiana. Here he was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who offered him the

as if for himself, though in reality with the full purpose of restoring it to its rightful owner; and he had at last gained his suit, the king having given Car 25,000*l*. in lieu of it: but the premature death of this incomparable prince (not without suspicion of foul play) in 1612, frustrated the accomplishment of his noble design. See Carew Raleigh's Petition, and Welwood's Notes on Wilson's *History of King James.*

sovereignty of the country, but he declined it. His extreme sickness preventing his attempting the discovery of the mines in person, he deputed Captain Keymis to that service, ordering five ships to sail up the Oronoco. These forces however, landing in the night nearer a Spanish town than they had expected, were set upon by the enemy's troops, and at first thrown into some confusion; but speedily rallying, they made such a vigorous opposition, that they compelled their assailants, the Spaniards, to retreat.

In the warmth of pursuit, they unexpectedly found themselves at the gates of the town: and here the battle was renewed, when Raleigh's eldest son, hurried on by the impatience of youth, rushed forward at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish captains, was himself shot by another.*

The Spaniards now found shelter about the market-place, whence they killed and wounded the invaders at pleasure; so that they were obliged, in self-defence, to set fire to the town, and drive the enemy to the woods and mountains. This gave Keymis an opportunity of attempting to visit the mine, in company

* "In the assault my son, more desirous of honour than safety, was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this world hath taken end in me." (Raleigh's *Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood*.) In his letter to his wife, on his homeward passage, which is subjoined, p. 358, every father will observe with the tenderest sympathy; how affectionately the valiant heart of this enlightened, betrayed, and finally murdered man yearned for his beloved boy. He fell at the age of twenty-three. He had been for some time, by Camden's recommendation, placed under the rigorous tuition of Ben Jonson; but he extricated himself from his clutches, by taking advantage of him in a fit of intemperance.

with Captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, Sir John Hamden, and others; but upon falling into an ambuscade, in which he lost many of his men, he returned to Sir Walter, without having accomplished his object.

As some mitigation of their ill-success, however, he produced two ingots of gold, which they had found in the town, beside a large quantity of papers seized in the governor's study. Among these were four letters, which discovered not only that Raleigh's whole enterprise had been divulged, but that his life had thus been put into the power of the Spaniards. To the just indignation, which he conceived on this occasion, was added the disappointment of learning that Keymis had not proceeded to the mine. He reproached him as having 'undone his friend, and wounded his credit with their common Sovereign past recovery.' Upon which, Keymis retired to his cabin, and shot himself; and finding the wound not mortal, completed the suicide by thrusting a knife into his heart.

To the eternal dishonour of James be it recorded, that through his dastardly duplicity, the honour of the nation, the lives of many brave men, and the military reputation of Raleigh were upon this occasion treacherously sacrificed. At the very moment of granting this accomplished officer a special commission for the expedition, he not only disavowed it to Gondemar the Spanish ambassador, but in confirmation of his assurance's suffered him to transmit to his court the particulars of the equipment. For this infamous conduct, Sir Walter could not forbear reproaching the court, in a letter from St. Christopher's

addressed to Sir Ralph Winwood, then Secretary of State.

From the same island, also, he addressed the following letter to his wife :

‘ I was loth to write, because I know not how to comfort you : and God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God ; and remember that the Queen’s majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both. And I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live.

‘ I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood’s letter, who will give you a copy of it, if you send for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed, which I have written by that letter ; for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleansed my ship of sick men, and sent them home, and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at Lothbury. You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland ; where I mean to clean my ships, and revictual ; for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son !

‘ This 22d of March, from the Isle of Christopher’s.

‘ Yours,

WALTER RALEGH.

‘ P. S. I protest before the Majesty of God, that

as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself, that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart.

‘It is true, that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son’s death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river; and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him ‘he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever.’ He answered, that ‘when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who after my son’s death made no account of him.’ He farther told me, that ‘the English sent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of St. Thome, which they had taken; and, therefore, for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible; and more impossible to have victuals brought them into the mountains.’ And it is true, that the governor, Diego Palameca, and other four captains being slain, whereof my son Wat slew one, Plesington (Wat’s serjeant) and John of Morocoes (one of his men) slew two; I say, five of them slain in the entrance of the town, the rest went off in a whole body. And each took more care to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three within a league of the town, beside a mine that was about five miles off, than they did of the town itself.

‘Yet Keymis, at the first, was resolved to go to

the mine. But when he came to the bank-side to land, he had two men of his slain out-right from the bank, and six others hurt; and Captain Thornhurst shot in the head, which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks. Now, when Keymis came back, and gave me the former reasons, which moved him not to open the mine (the one, the death of my son; a second, the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it and to be victualled; a third, that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and, lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned) and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that 'I must leave him to himself to answer it to the King and state;' he shut himself into his cabin, and shot himself with a pocket-pistol, which broke one of his ribs: and, finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died.

'Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose letters I refer you. But because I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did after the sealing break open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business; which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scorie, and to Sir John Leigh.

'For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter, as I was. For, being commanded upon my allegiance to set down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master, the King of Spain. The King wrote his

letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the Governor (Palameca) of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidad. Of which the first letter bore date March 19, 1617, at Madrid, when I had not yet left the Thames; which letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other letters of the King's, which I reserve, and one of the Council's. The King, also, sent a commission to levy 300 soldiers out of his garrison of Nuevo Regno de Granada and Porto Rico, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain us. He, also, prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you, how we were preserved; if I live, I shall make it known. My brains are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I told you why.

‘Whitney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadas, and Wollaston with him. So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home; and in my fly-boat a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure, there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care, that I have done; that hath slept so little, and travailed so much. My friends will not believe them; and for the rest, I care not. God in heaven bless you, and strengthen your heart! Yours,

‘WALTER RALEGH.’

Accordingly, on his return home, he found that James had published a proclamation declaring his detestation of his conduct, and asserting that he had by express limitation (though no such limitation was

to be found in his commission) restrained him from attempting any act of hostility against his dear brother of Spain.

The proclamation, however, did not deter Sir Walter from landing at Plymouth in July 1618, as he was resolved to surrender himself into the King's hands. On the road to London he was arrested by Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-Admiral of Devonshire and his relation, who acted a most treacherous part after his arrival in town. For Raleigh being allowed to remain a prisoner at his own house, Stukely was continually representing 'how greatly the court was exasperated against him by the complaints of Gonde-mar;' and after countenancing, if he did not suggest, the plan of an escape into France, betrayed him to the ministry, who caused him to be seized in a boat below Woolwich, and committed him to the Tower.

But though his death had been absolutely determined, it was not easy to accomplish it from any thing, which had occurred during his late expedition. It was resolved therefore to effect the sacrifice, by reviving against him the sentence passed upon him in 1603. Thus, by a singular destiny, he who had been condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, was now to lose his life for being their enemy.

In consequence of this resolution, having the day before received notice to prepare himself for death, he was on the twenty-eighth of October taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and carried to the King's-Bench bar at Westminster, where the Chief-Justice, Sir Henry Montagu, ordered the record of his former conviction and judgement to be read: and then demanded, 'What he had to offer, why execution should not be awarded against him?'

To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission for his last voyage, which implied a restoring of life to him, by giving him power, as marshal, on the life and death of others. He, then, began to justify his conduct in that voyage; but the court refused to hear him, and a warrant was produced ordering his execution on the following day. This had been signed and sealed before-hand, that no delay might arise from the King's absence, who had retired into the country the day before he was arraigned.

Few have acted so difficult a part, in the last scene of life, with the spirit and firmness which Raleigh now displayed. The inefficacy of the intercessions* with the King, in his behalf, proved no disappointment to him: he neither expected, nor seemed to wish for, mercy. On the very morning of his execution he ate his breakfast heartily, and smoked his pipe; and ascending the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, as if he had only been about to take a journey, he saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen there present. After which, proclamation being made for silence, he said: "I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and, if I shall show any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come." Then pausing a-while he sat down, and directing himself toward a window, where the Lords Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster with some other noblemen were sitting, he continued: "I thank God, of his infinite goodness, that he hath brought me to die in

* A letter of the Queen's to the Marquis of Buckingham, addressed to him by the quaint title of 'My kind Dogge,' is still extant, entreating his friendly offices for Raleigh.

the light, and not in darkness. Perceiving however that the place where the above-mentioned noblemen were seated was far from the scaffold, he added, "I will strain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me."

Lord Arundel replied, "Nay, we will rather come down to the scaffold;" which he, and some others did. Upon this, he proceeded: "As I said, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die; and that he hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness; and I thank God, that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart both to my king and country.

"There are two mean points of suspicion that his Majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me, and which I conceive have specially hastened my coming hither; wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear up and to resolve you of:

"One is, that his Majesty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with France; and his Majesty hath good reasons to induce him thereunto. One reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so was, that when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochelle; which was, for that I would have made my peace, before I had come to England.

"Another reason was, that upon my flight I did intend to fly into France, for the saving of myself, having had some terror from above.

"A third reason, that his Majesty had reason to

suspect, was the French agent's coming to me. Besides, it was reported, that I had a commission from the French King at my going forth. These are the reasons that his Majesty had, as I am informed, to suspect me.

“ But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at any time is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the tribunal-day of judgement? But to call God to witness to a falsehood at the time of death, is far more grievous and impious; and that a man that so doth cannot have salvation, for he hath no time for repentance. Then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French King, nor ever saw the French King's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that there was a French agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery at my lodging unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom!

“ The second suspicion was, that his Majesty had been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my Sovereign. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, and a runagate fellow; one, that hath no dwelling; a kind of chemical fellow; one, that I knew to be perfidious: for, being by him drawn into the action of accusing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my head was touched, he being sworn to secrecy over-night revealed it the next morning.

“ But this I speak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do

I fear them. I have only to do with my God, in whose presence I stand: therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the King's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last judgement-day, I never spoke disloyally or dishonestly of his Majesty in all my life; and, therefore, I cannot but think it strange that that Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved; and I hope I shall be believed.

“ I confess I did attempt to escape: I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life. And I do likewise confess, that I did feign myself to be indisposed and sick at Salisbury: but I hope it was no sin; for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him: so what I did I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time until his Majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him.

“ But I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Stukely, with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. Dean of Westminster, and I have forgiven all men; but, that they are perfidious, I am bound in character to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

“ Sir Lewis Stukely, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that ‘ my Lord Carew and my Lord of Doncaster here did advise me to escape.’ But I protest, before God, I never told him any such thing; neither did the Lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely, that I should tell him any such thing of two Privy Councillors; neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it: for it is

well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, while he rode himself about the country.

“Again, he accused me, that I should tell him, ‘my Lord Carew and my Lord Doncaster would meet me in France,’ which was never my speech or thought.

“He farther accused me, that I should show him a letter, whereby I did signify unto him, that I would give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I made any such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or ~~one~~ thousand. But indeed I showed him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone: neither had I ten thousand pounds to give him; for, if I had had so much, I could have made my peace with it better another way, than in giving it to Stukely.

“Farther, when I came to Sir Edward Pelham’s house, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment, he gave out that ‘I had received some dram of poison;’ when I answered him, ‘I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wished him to have no such thought.’ Now God forgive him, for I do; and I desire God to forgive him. I will not say, ‘God is a God of revenge;’ but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God.”

Then looking over his note of remembrance, “Well, thus far have I gone; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

“It was told the King, that ‘I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again:’ but Sir Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr.

Leake, and divers know how I was dealt withal by the common soldiers, which were one hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied and sent for me to come into the ship to them, for unto me they would not come; and there I was forced to take an oath, that 'I would not go into England till that they would have me,' otherwise they would have cast me into the sea; and therewithal they drove me into my cabin, and bent all their forces against me. After I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, such as I had about me, I drew some of the chiefest to resist from their purposes: and, at length, I persuaded them to go into Ireland; which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the north-parts of Ireland; which I dissuaded them from, and told them, that 'they were Red-shanks that inhabited there:' and with much ado I persuaded them to go into the south parts of Ireland, promising them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them one hundred and twenty-five pounds at Kinsale, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from thence.

"There was a report, that I meant not to go to Guiana at all; and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.* But

* 'A strange fancy indeed (he says elsewhere) had it been in me to have persuaded my son, whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have adventured the 8,000*l.*, which his Majesty gave them for Sherborne; and when that was spent, to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guiana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes. For being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel, and to watching, it being en to one that I should ever have returned, and which by reason of my violent sickness and the long continu-

I protest it was my full intent, and for gold; for gold for the benefit of his Majesty and myself, and of those that ventured and went with me, with the rest of my countrymen; but he that knew the head of the mine would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made himself away."

Then turning to the Earl of Arundel, he said, "My Lord, being in the gallery of my ship at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said, 'You would request one thing of me, which was that whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail but to return again into England;' which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would: and so I have." To which my Lord answered, "It is true, I do very well remember it: they were the very last words, I spake unto you."

"Another slander was raised of me, that 'I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guiana.' But there was a great many worthy men, that accompanied me always, as my serjeant-major George Raleigh and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

"Also it hath been said, that 'I stinted them of fresh water.' To which I answer, every one was, as they must be in a ship, furnished by measure, and

ance thereof no man had any hope, what madness could have made me undertake that journey, but the assurance of the mine; thereby to have done his Majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children their estates they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways or means! For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and my country, my return in the state I did return may satisfy every honest and indifferēt man."

not according to their appetites : this course, all seamen know, must be used among them, and to this strait were we driven.

“ Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands. As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly or indirectly, above a hundred pounds; whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds : but the error thereof came, as I perceived, there was entered 20,000*l.* and but 4,000*l.* in the Surveyor’s book : the rest had my hand to the bills for divers adventures. But I protest, I had not a penny of money more than a hundred pounds, as I hope to be saved !

“ And these be the material points, I thought good to speak of. I am now, at this instant, to render my account to God ; and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true.

“ I will only borrow a little time of Mr. Sheriff to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed, to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me ; for it is said, that ‘ I should be a persecutor of the death of the Earl of Essex, and that I stood in a window over-against him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him.’ God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died : and as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered ; for I was afar off in the Armoury,* where I saw him, but

* He attended in his capacity of Captain of the Guard. For an answer to the calumny here alluded to, and the other Crimi-

he saw not me. I confess, indeed, I was of a contrary faction: but I knew my Lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone; for I got the hate of those, which wished me well before, and those, that set me against him, afterward set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies. And my soul hath many times been grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterward, he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me."

He then concluded with entreating the spectators to join him in prayer to God, "whom," said he, "I have most grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, who have lived a sinful life in all sinful callings: for I have been a soldier, a captain, a sea-captain, and a courtier; which are all courses of wickedness and vice."* After which, proclamation being made that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death; giving away his hat, his cap, and some money, to such as he knew who stood near him. He next took leave of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance; and among the rest, of Lord Arundel, whom he entreated to desire the King, that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death;

nations relative to this voyage adduced by the Stuartising Hume, see, as above quoted, Cayley's '*Life of Raleigh*,' Appendix, No. XXII. (II. 447—455.)

* All the printed and MS. copies of this speech, though in substance they generally agree, in phraseology widely differ. See the *Harleian*, &c. '*Collections*,' Raleigh's '*Remains*,' Overbury's '*Arraignment*,' Oldys' '*Life*,' and Birch's '*Works of Raleigh*.'

adding, "I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave."

He now, having put off his doublet and gown, desired the executioner to show the axe: this not being done readily, he said, "I prithee let me see it: dost thou think, that I am afraid of it?" Upon which, it was delivered to him; and after he had felt along upon the edge of it, he smilingly observed to the sheriff, "This is a sharp medicine; but it is a physician, that will cure all diseases." He then, going to and fro upon the scaffold on every side, entreated the company to pray to God to give him strength.

The executioner, kneeling down, asked him forgiveness; and he laying his hand upon his shoulder, forgave him. Being asked, which way he would lay himself on the block, he replied; "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lieth." After this, on a signal given by Sir Walter, the executioner beheaded him at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving. His head was carried away in a mourning-coach appointed by Lady Raleigh, and preserved by her in a case during the twenty-nine years which she survived her husband.* His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, Westminster.

Dr. Townson, Dean of Westminster, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, has given a relation of this foul execution, in a letter to Sir John Isham of Lamport in Northamptonshire, dated November 9, 1618. "He was the most fearless of death, that

* It was afterward preserved, with no less piety, by their affectionate son Carew, with whom it is supposed to have been buried at West Horsley in Surrey.

ever was known; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience. When I began to encourage him against the fear of death, he seemed to make so light of it, that I wondered at him. And when I told him ‘that the dear servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunk back and trembled a little,’ he denied not; but yet gave God thanks ‘he never feared death, and much less then. For it was but an opinion and imagination, and the manner of death, though to others it might seem grievous, yet he had rather die so than of a burning fever;’ with much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerfulness, that I was fain to divert my speech another way; and wished him ‘not to flatter himself: for this extraordinary boldness, I was afraid, came from some false ground. If it sprang from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his salvation by Christ, and his own innocency, as he pleaded, I said he was a happy man: but if it were out of an humour of vain-glory, or carelessness, or contempt of death, or senselessness of his own estate, he were much to be lamented, &c.’ For I told him, that ‘heathen men had set as little by their lives as he would do, and seemed to die as bravely.’ He answered, that ‘he was persuaded that no man, that knew God and feared him, could die with cheerfulness and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him; that other men might make shows outwardly, but they felt no joy within;’ with much more to that effect very christianly, so that he satisfied me then, as I think he did all his spectators at his death, &c.”

Another account says, “In all the time he was

upon the scaffold, or before, there appeared not the least alteration in him, either in his voice or countenance; but he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension, as if he had come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer; nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible, than did he. So that he hath purchased here, in the opinion of men, such honour and reputation, as it is thought his bitterest enemies are they that are most sorrowful for his death, which they see is like to turn so much to his advantage."

This unparalleled sacrifice of so great a man to the insolent demands of Spain, gave such disgust to the people, that the King published a declaration in justification of the measure, which only increased the odium naturally generated by highly disgraceful acts.

Even one of the ministers wrote to Cottington, our agent then in Spain (according to a letter preserved by Rushworth) desiring him to represent to that Court, 'in how many actions of late his Majesty had strained upon the affections of his people: and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, who died with signal courage and constancy; and at his death moved the common sort of people to much remorse, who all attributed his death to the desire his Majesty had to satisfy Spain.' "Farther, you may let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Raleigh was to have done his Majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him. Yet to give them content, he hath not spared him; when by preserving him he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom."

Thus fell, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, a sacrifice to a paltry administration and a contemptible

prince, Sir Walter Raleigh; a man of an extensive genius, and from his earliest appearance in public life to his latest moment, a firm and active friend to the prosperity and the liberty of his country. His character was a combination of almost every eminent quality, uniting in itself the statesman, the soldier, the scholar, the patriot, the seaman, the poet, and the philosopher; and if he had lived with the heroes of antiquity, he would have supplied a just parallel to Cæsar and to Xenophon. He was, indeed, "a prodigy of wit and fortune; unfortunate in nothing, but in the greatness of his wit and advancement; whose eminent worth was such both in domestic policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in art and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer example and imitation. Those, that knew him well, esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about; so dexterous was he in almost all of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen."

He had a good presence, we are informed. in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit, a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, which set off his parts to the best advantage. To these he had the adjuncts of a general learning; which by diligence and experience (those two great tutors) was augmented to a great perfection, being an indefatigable reader, and having a very retentive memory: before his judges at Winchester humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, yet not deject; to the jury affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them; carefully persuad-

ing them with reason, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations; rather showing love of life, than fear of death; patient, but not careless; civil, but not stupid.

Both "by sea and land," says Granger, "he was constantly employed in literary pursuits. His learning was continually improved into habits of life, helping greatly to advance his knowledge of men and things; and he became a better soldier, a better sea-officer, an abler statesman, and a more accomplished courtier, in proportion as he was a better scholar."

Music, likewise, appears to have had its share of Raleigh's attention. Oldys observes, that an old book by an Oxonian, entitled 'The Praise of Music,' was dedicated to him "not without propriety;" adding, that he had met with hints of his proficiency in that art, and was of opinion that Spenser's expression, "Yet emuling my pipe, &c." ought to be literally interpreted.

With a mind thus cultivated, we naturally expect to find Sir Walter feeling an interest in every expansion and improvement of art or science. The ravages of time, however they may have impaired our information, have not been able to disappoint our expectations in this particular; and many evidences still exist of the esteem, in which Raleigh was held in his day, abroad as well as at home, as a patron of science and improvement. In addition to the works inscribed to him by his countrymen, the learned Martin Bassaniere of Paris, and Julius Cæsar a citizen of Rome, dedicated to him, the former a 'History of the Discovery of Florida,' published in French; the latter, a book entitled 'Columbeados;' alluding, probably, to

his American expeditions. James Morgues, a French painter, seems also to have experienced his patronage during his residence in London, and at the time of his greatest troubles. He contributed fifty pounds toward improving the infant Bodleian Library. Of his encouragement of Hakluyt, the naval historian, we have several testimonies; and it appears, lastly, that he was a member of a society of antiquaries existing in his time.

On that remarkable incident in Sir Walter's history, observes Mr. Cayley, commonly called his 'Conspiracy,' I am inclined to concur with the opinion of Dr. Welwood, in his ingenious notes upon Wilson's History. Though James forgot the death of his mother, he seems never to have forgiven the enemies of Essex; of which Cecil and Raleigh were probably both aware, but took contrary measures to avoid his resentment. While Cecil maintained his correspondence with James, Raleigh trusted in the justice of his conduct; and content with the favour of Elizabeth, which he enjoyed to her death, took no steps to conciliate her successor. Knowing Cecil to have been at least equally concerned with himself in the fall of Essex, his great mind perhaps could not brook the distinction made by their new master on his accession; especially, when heightened by the frowns of Cecil upon his once intimate friend. With a temper impatient of injuries, and unequal (notwithstanding his excellent qualities) to a reverse of fortune like this, Sir Walter was thus probably brought acquainted with others discontented like himself, though of different religions and interests; and, perhaps, more conversations than one might arise about solicit-

ing foreign powers to amend their fortunes, and even Arabella Stuart might be named by Raleigh as one who had a near title to the crown.

That he ever entered into the designs imputed to him at his trial, no person of competent judgment, at that time or since, has believed. It is much more probable, that the malice of his enemies effected his ruin, by taking advantage of the people's terror and indignation, and connecting a pretended with a real plot; a purpose, in which they were highly favoured by Raleigh's unfortunate intimacy with Lord Cobham, the brother of Brooke.

In a word, singular talents, with great success in their application, gained him the distinction, which might have been expected in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; not, however, as might likewise have been expected, without a host of opposition amid the various interests of her court. Although fortunate enough to combat that host with considerable success, yet Essex, the favourite of both the monarchs under whom Raleigh lived, was not sacrificed by the fortune of them without a memorable impression upon the latter. In the reign of the second, the ascendancy which the party adverse to Sir Walter had gained by intrigue was able to bring him to a legal trial for high treason, and even procured his condemnation without proof of guilt. Too timorous either to execute him unjustly, or to allow his innocence and grant his freedom, that base-spirited monarch made him suffer more than death by his long imprisonment. Released at last, in the hope that his country should be benefited by his experience and his spirit of enterprise, he was upon the failure of his

expedition sacrificed, by a mean and corrupt court, to a foreign power holding an absolute ascendant over the true interests of the nation.

By the paintings extant of Sir Walter Raleigh, his stature was about six feet, and his person well proportioned. His profusion in dress, on particular occasions, was perhaps in conformity with the custom of his age. We are told that, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he possessed a suit of clothes beset with jewels to the value of 60,000*l.*; and the Jesuit Drexelius informs us, that the precious stones on his court-shoes exceeded 6,600 pieces of gold in value.

Elizabeth, the only wife of Sir Walter, appears by an extant portrait of her to have been a lady of considerable beauty. She is supposed to have been about eighteen years younger than her husband. Two sons, Walter and Carew, are the only fruits of their marriage, with which posterity are acquainted. The latter died in 1666. Sir Henry Wotton calls him, a 'gentleman of dexterous abilities;' and honourable mention of him is made by other writers: but "far, God wot (observes Wood) was he from his father's parts, either as to the sword or pen."

For extent of knowledge and variety of talent, Raleigh was undoubtedly the greatest man of his age. That he did not attain first-rate eminence as a poet, arose probably from his having devoted his extraordinary powers to more important pursuits. For 'ditty and sonorous ode,' his contemporary Puttenham pronounces his vein to have been "most lofty, insolent, and passionate." His mind, indeed (Sir Egerton Brydges remarks) appears to have been generally

characterised by boldness, and freedom from nice scruples either in thought or action. He was, as Lodge says of Sydney, a poet rather by necessity than inclination; he only indulged in speculation, when he was shut out from action: for his head was restless and turbulent. When no overwhelming passions or interests misled him, he was generous, and perhaps even feeling.

Difficulties and disappointments gave a plaintive sort of moral cast to his occasional effusions.

He possessed all the various faculties of the mind in such ample degrees, that to whichever of them he had given exclusive or unproportionate cultivation, in that he must have highly excelled. There are so many beautiful lines in the poem prefixed to Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' beginning "Methought I saw," &c., that it is clear he was capable of attaining a high place among poetical writers.

The mere ascent to greatness in the state, from such a private condition as that of Raleigh, could not have been effected in those days without some extraordinary powers of intellect and of spirit: unless perhaps through the slow intrigues of gradually-improving office, where daily presence and daily opportunity might find room for the incessant activity of a selfish cunning; a mode, by which the elevation of many statesmen may too probably be accounted for. But such was not the spirit of Raleigh: while climbing up the steep and perilous heights of ambition, he must undoubtedly have met with numerous scarcely-supportable insults, as well as thrusts. Essex was of a generous temper; but he was puffed up by intemperate aristocratical prejudices. Incalculably

inferior in all the powers of the understanding, in age, experience, and exercised wisdom, that nobleman by the occasional insolence, which his unreserved and haughty temper was likely to betray, must have created in a character like Raleigh's (inspired, as it was, by the most animated consciousness of pre-eminence, both in natural and acquired endowments) feelings of mingled abhorrence, resentment, and disdain, that were not likely to subside without finding some means to discharge themselves on their object. Sir Robert Cecil, always actuated by a crooked and selfish policy, saw and seized this occasion, that he might turn it into an instrument of injury in conducting his own malignant rivalry toward the imprudent Essex.

Raleigh is held in no mean regard as an historian; his 'History of the World'* being, to this day, respected by the ablest critics. †

It was first published, in 1614, in folio: a second edition was printed in 1617.

† In this work, which "for the exactness of it's chronology, curiosity of it's contexture, and learning of all sorts," Wood pronounces an 'exquisite Minerva' that 'seems to be the work of an age,' occurs the following passage against the Sectaries, who by their puritanical zeal and inordinate desire of change (palliated, and disguised, under the name of reformation) endeavoured to debase and vilify the house of God: "The reverend care which Moses, the prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne toward God himself. The industry used in the framing the roof, and every and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expense in the provisors; the dutiful ob-

He wrote several miscellaneous pieces in

servance in the laying up and preserving of the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon; and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated—is now so forgotten, and cast away, in this superfine age by those of the Family, by the Anabaptist, Brownist, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be observed and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry, robbed of all dignity and respect, be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church-government left to newness of opinion, and men's fancies: yea, and soon after as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish-churches within England, every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the *gift of revelation*; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt." (II. v. 1.)

"The design of this production (adds Granger) was equal to the greatness of his mind, and it's execution to the strength of his parts and the variety of his learning. His stile is pure, nervous, and majestic; and much better suited to the dignity of history, than that of Lord Bacon in his '*History of Henry VII.*' Raleigh seems to have written for posterity; Bacon, for the reign of James I. To some of his friends, who were deploring his confinement, he calmly observed, "The world itself is but a large prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution."

It's conclusion (V. vi. 12.) is highly commended by Bishop Warburton in a letter to Birch: "By this, which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and the end of the three first monarchies of the world, whereof the founders and erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest.

prose,* chiefly political, and some poems. These, originally printed at different times and in various forms, were published collectively by Dr. Birch, in two volumes 8vo., in the year 1751. They are now become scarce. "They contain," says Sir Egerton Brydges, "a rich fund of political wisdom, applicable beyond the great occasions which gave birth to them, expanded by general axioms, and filled with the germs of that noble science of political economy, which the latter half of the eighteenth century cultivated with such success." One of the Tracts, entitled, 'The Cabinet Council,' had the honour to be first published

We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eye and admiration of the world. But, after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs, and branches, one against another; her leaves shall fall off; her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field and cut her down."

* * * * *

"It is death* alone, that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and confident, that they are but objects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their fore-passed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it. O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded: what none hath dared, thou hast done: and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world, and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*"

* Of these, perhaps, his 'Instructions to his Son and to Posterity' deserve a distinct specification.

by Milton* in 8vo., 1668. Of all of them, as well as of his MS. Remains, scattered in various public libraries, Mr. Cayley has given an accurate list.

But, although it was generally acknowledged in the following reign that Raleigh's death was an act of cruel and cowardly policy in James I., his second and only surviving son, Carew Raleigh, was compelled by that monarch to confirm the title of his father's valuable estate at Sherborne to Sir John Digby, who had been created Earl of Bristol.† And upon that condition alone would Charles restore Mr. Raleigh in blood; alleging, that 'he had promised the manor of Sherborne to Digby, when he was Prince of Wales, and that now he was King, he was bound to confirm it.'

* With this prefatory address: "Having had the MS. of this Treatise, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers, upon reading thereof I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public: it being both answerable in stile to other works of his already extant, as far as the subject will permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces. JOHN MILTON."

† The estate had been originally bestowed upon him by James I., at the request of the Prince after the disgrace of Somerset.

EXTRACTS

From his 'Cabinet Council,' first published by Milton
in 1658.

CHAP. XI.

*Observations intrinsically concerning every Public
State in points of Justice, Treasure, and War.*

'The first concern matter intrinsic; the second touch matter extrinsic. Matters intrinsic are three: the administration of justice, the managing of the treasure, the disposing of things appertaining to war. Matters extrinsic are, also, three: the skill how to deal with neighbours, the diligence to vent their designs, the way how to win so much confidence with some of them, as to be made partakers of whatsoever they mean to enterprize.

Touching Administration of Justice.

'The good and direct administration of justice is, in all places, a principal part of government: for seldom or never shall we see any people discontented and desirous of alteration, where justice is equally administered without respect of persons; and in every state this consideration is required, but most of all in countries that do front upon other princes, or were lately conquered. Hereunto the prince's vigilancy, and the magistrate's uprightness, are especially required: for oftentimes the prince is deceived, and the magistrates corrupted. It behoveth, also, the prince to maintain the judges and ministers of justice in their

reputation, and yet to have a vigilant eye upon their proceedings; and the rather, if their authority do include equity, and from their censure be no appeal. And if their office be during life, and they are men born and dwelling in the same country, all these things are duly to be considered of the prince: for as to call the judges into question is, as it were, to disgrace the judicial seat; so, to wink at their corruptions, were matter of just discontent to the subject. In this case, therefore, the prince cannot do more than by his wisdom to make choice of good men; and being chosen, to hold them in good reputation, so as the ordinary course of justice may proceed: for otherwise great disorder, contempt, and general confusion will ensue thereof. Secondly, he is to keep his eye open upon their proceeding; and, lastly, to reserve unto himself a supreme power of appellation.

Touching the Treasure.

‘ The want of money is in all states very perilous, and most of all, in those which are of least strength, and do confine upon nations with whom they have commonly war, or unassured peace; but most perilous of all to those governments, which are remote from the prince, or place, where they are to be relieved.

‘ The means to levy treasure are four. First, the customs and impositions upon all sorts of merchandise and traffic is to be looked unto, and advanced. Secondly, the excessive exacting of usury must be suppressed. Thirdly, all superfluous charges and expenses are to be taken away. Lastly, the doings and accounts of ministers are severally to be examined.

* ‘Touching the matter of custom and impost thereof, assuredly, a great profit is in every state to be raised, chiefly where peace hath long continued, and where the country affordeth much plenty of commodities to be carried out, and where ports are to receive shipping.

‘The moderating of interest is ever necessary;* and chiefly in this age, by reason that money aboundeth in Europe, since the traffic into the Indies: for such men as have money in their hands great plenty, would in no wise employ the same in merchandise, if lawful it were to receive the utmost usury, being a course of the most profit and greatest security.

‘The taking away of superfluous expenses is no other thing than a certain wise and laudable parsimony, which the Romans and other well-governed states did use. These expenses consist in fees, allowances, and wages granted to ministers of little or no necessity: also in pensions, rewards, entertainments, and donaries, with small difficulty to be moderated, or easily to be suppressed. By abridging or taking away of these needless expenses, a marvellous profit will be saved for the prince; but if he continue them, and by imposing upon the people do think to increase his treasure or revenue, beside the loss of their love, he may also hazard their obedience with many other inconveniences.

Touching War;

‘Whatsoever prince or commonweal is neighbour to any people which can, will, or were wont to offend,

* See, upon this subject, however, an ingenious Tract by Bentham.

it is necessary to have not only all things prepared for defence of his person and country, but also to forecast and use every caution and other diligence. For the inconveniences, which happen to government, are sudden and unlooked for: yea, the providence and provision required in this case ought to be such, as the expenses all other ways employed must stay to supply the necessity of war.'

CHAP. XII.

Extrinsic Observation, showing how to deal with Neighbours, Princes, and Provinces respectively, how to prevent their Designs, and decypher their Intendments.

'This first point of matter extrinsic is of such quality, as being well handled procureth great good, but otherwise becometh dangerous: for the proceeding must be diverse, according to the diversity of the ends, which the prince or governor intendeth. For, if he desire to continue peace with his neighbours, one way is to be taken: but otherwise, he is to work, that seeketh occasion to break, and to become an enemy to one or more of his neighbours. If he do desire to live peaceably with all, then he is to observe these rules, viz.

'First, to hold, and continue firmly, all contracts and capitulations.

'Secondly, to show himself resolved neither to offer, nor take, the least touch of wrong or injury.

'Thirdly, with all care and favour to farther commerce and reciproque traffic, for the profit of the subject, and increase of the prince's revenue.

‘ Fourthly, covertly to win so great confidence with neighbours, as in all actions of unkindness among them he may be made umpire.

‘ Fifthly, to become so well believed with them, as he may remove such diffidences as grow to his own disadvantage.

‘ Sixthly, not to deny protection or aid to them that are the weakest, and chiefly such as do and will endure his fortune.

‘ Lastly, in favouring, aiding, and protecting (unless necessity shall otherwise so require) to do it moderately; so as they who are to be aided become not jealous, and consequently seek adherency elsewhere, which oftentimes hath opened way to other neighbours that desire a like occasion.

How to prevent their Designs.

‘ This point is, in time of war, with great diligence to be looked unto; also, in time of peace, to prevent all occasions that may kindle war is behoveful: for to foresee what may happen to the prejudice of a prince’s profit, or reputation, is a part of great wisdom. The means to attain the intelligence of these things are two:

‘ The first is, by friends; the next is, by espials: the one for the most part faithful; the other not so assured.

‘ These matters are well to be considered. For albeit the nature of man desireth nothing more than curiously to know the doings of others, yet are those things to be handled with so great secrecy and dissimulation, as the prince’s intent be not in any wise suspected, nor the ministers made odious: for these

sometimes, to win themselves reputation, do devise causes of difference where no need is; divining of things future, which prove to the prejudice of their own prince.

To win Confidence with Neighbours.

‘This is chiefly attained unto by being loved and honoured: for these things do work so many good effects, as daily experience sufficeth, without any express example, to prove them of great force.

‘The way to win love and trust is, in all actions ~~to~~ proceed justly, and sometimes to wink at wrongs, or set aside unnecessary revenges: and if any thing be done not justifiable, or unfit to be allowed (as, oftentimes, it happeneth) there to lay the blame upon the minister; which must be performed with so great show of revenge and dissimulation, by reprovng and punishing the minister, as the princes offended may be satisfied, and believe that the cause of unkindness proceeded from thence.

‘Now only it resteth, that somewhat should be said touching provision; to the end the people may not be drawn into despair by famine, or extreme dearth of victuals and chiefly for want of corn, which is one principal consideration to be regarded, according to the Italian proverb, *Pane in Piazza, Giustizia in Palazzo, Siverezza per Tutto*: whereunto I could wish every prince, or supreme governor, to be thus qualified, viz., *Facile de audienza, non facile de credenza, desioso de spedition, esemplare in costumi proprii, et in quei de sua casa tale che vorra governare, e non esser governato du altro che della ragione.*

CHAP. XIII.

Observations confirmed by authorities of Princes and Principalities, characterising an excellent Prince or Governor.

‘ Every good and lawful principality is either elective, or successive. Of them, election seemeth the more ancient; but succession, in divers respects, the better. *Minore discrimine sumitur princeps quam quæritur.* Tac.

‘ The chief and only endeavour of every good prince ought to be, the commodity and security of the subjects; as, contrariwise, the tyrant seeketh his own private profit with the oppression of his people. *Civium non servitus, sed tutela, tradita est.* Sall.

‘ To the perfection of every good prince, two things are necessarily required; viz. prudence, and virtue; the one to direct his doings, the other to govern his life. *Reus eris, si rectè feceris.* Hor.

‘ The second care which appertaineth to a good prince is, to make his subjects like unto himself; for thereby he is not only honoured, but they also the better governed. *Facile imperium in bonos.* Plaut.

‘ Subjects are made good by two means; viz. by constraint of law, and the prince’s example: for in all estates, the people do imitate those conditions, whereunto they see the prince inclined. *Quicquid faciunt principes, præcipere videntur.* Quintil.

‘ All virtues be required in a prince; but justice and clemency are most necessary: for justice is a habit of doing things justly as well to himself as others, and giving to every one so much as to him appertaineth. This is that virtue, that preserveth

concord among men, and whereof they be called good. *Jus et æquitas vincula civitatum.* Cic.

‘ It is the quality of this virtue, also, to proceed equally and temperately. It informeth the prince not to surcharge the subjects with infinite laws for thereof proceedeth the impoverishment of the subjects, and the enriching of lawyers; a kind of men, which in ages more ancient did seem of no necessity. *Sine cauidicis satis felices olim fuere futuraque sunt urbes.* Sall.

‘ The next virtue required in princes is clemency, being an inclination of the mind to lenity and compassion, yet tempered with severity and judgement. This quality is fit for all great personages, but chiefly princes; because their occasion to use it is most. By it, also, the love of men is gained. *Qui vult regnare, languidâ regnet manu.* Sen.

‘ After clemency, fidelity is expected in all good princes, which is a certain performance and observation of word and promise. This virtue seemeth to accompany justice, or is, as it were, the same; and, therefore, most fit for princes. *Sanctissimum generis humani bonum.* Liv.

‘ As fidelity followeth justice, so doth modesty accompany clemency. Modesty is a temperature of reason, whereby the mind of man is so governed, as neither in action or opinion he over-deemeth of himself, or any thing that is his; a quality not common in fortunate folk, and most rare in princes! *Superbia commune nobilitatis malum.* Sall.

‘ This virtue doth also moderate all external demonstrations of insolence, pride, and arrogance; and therefore necessary to be known of princes, and all others whom favour or fortune have advanced. *Im-*

pone felicitati tuæ frænos; facilius illam réges.
Curt.

‘ But as princes are to observe the bounds of modesty, so may they not forget the majesty appertaining to their supreme honour, being a certain reverend greatness due to princely virtue and royal state; a grace and gravity no less beseeeming a prince, than virtue itself: for neither over-much familiarity, nor too great austerity, ought to be used by princes. *Facilitas auctoritatem, severitas amorem minuit.* Tac.

‘ To these virtues we may apply liberality, which doth not only adorn, but highly advance, the honour due to princes. Thereby, also, the good will of men is gained: for nothing is more fitting a prince’s nature than bounty, the same being accompanied with judgement, and performed according to the laws of liberality. *Perdere multi sciunt, donare nesciunt.* Tac.

‘ It seemeth also that prudence is not only fit, but also, among other virtues, necessary in a prince: for the daily use thereof is in all human actions required, and chiefly in matters of state and government. *Prudentia imperantis propria et unica virtus.* Arist.

‘ The success of all worldly proceedings doth show, that prudence hath compassed the prosperous event of human actions, more than force of arms or other power. *Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.* Eurip.

‘ Prudence is either natural, or received from others: for whoso can counsel himself what is fit to be done, needeth not the advice of others; but they that want such perfection, and are nevertheless capable, and are willing to know what others inform, ought to be accounted wise enough. *Laudatissimus*

est, qui cuncta videbit; sed laudandus est is, qui paret rectè monenti. Hesiod.'

On Paradise.

—‘ It appeareth to me by the testimony of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, seated in the lower part of the region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluviorum* or Mesopotamia, which taketh into it also a portion of Shinar and Armenia. This region standing in the most excellent temper of all others (to wit) 35 degrees from the equinoctial, and 55 from the north-pole: in which climate the most excellent wines, fruits, oil, grain of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing, that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the palm-trees without the care and labour of man. For wherein soever the earth, nature, and the sun can most vaunt that they have excelled, yet shall this plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at nature’s hand. And though it may be said, that these trees are found both in the East and West-Indies, which countries are also blessed with a perpetual spring and summer; yet lay down by those pleasures and benefits the fearful and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and worms with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no comparison between the one and the other.

‘ What other excellences this garden of Paradise had, before God (for man’s ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the earth, we cannot judge : but I may safely think that, by how much Adam exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceed all parts of the universal world, in which God had planted, (that is) made to grow, the trees of Life and of Knowledge ; plants only proper, and becoming the Paradise and garden of so great a Lord.

‘ The sum of all this is, that whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have been dim-sighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our known world ; some, above the middle region of the air ; some, elevated near the moon ; others, as far south as the line, or as far north as the pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like castles in the air, and in men’s fancies vainly imagined. For it was *eastward in Eden* (saith Moses) eastward in respect of Judæa, that God planted this garden, which Eden we find in the prophets where it was, and whereof the name in some part remaineth to this day. A river went out of Eden to water this garden, and from thence divided itself into four branches ; and we find that both Tigris and Euphrates swimming through Eden do join in one, and afterward taking ways apart, do water Chus and Havilah, according to Moses : the true seats of Chus and his sons then being in the valley of Shinar, in which Nimrod built Babel. That Pison was Gangēs, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary : for that, which was never joined, cannot be divided. Gangēs, which inhabiteth

India, cannot be a branch of the rivers of Eden. That Gehon was Nilus, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this river is a greater stranger to Tigris and Euphrates, than Ganges is. For although there are between Tigris and Ganges above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world: but Nilus is begotten in the mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the Cape of Good Hope, and falleth into the Mediterranean sea; and Euphrates distilleth out of the mountains of Armenia, and falleth into the gulf of Persia: the one riseth in the south, and travelleth north; the other riseth in the north, and runneth south, three-score and three degrees the one from the other.'

THE NYMPH'S REPLY * TO THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERD.

' If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

Time drives the flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold,
And Philomel becometh dumb;
The rest complain of cares to come.

* Isaac Walton informs us, that this Reply to Marlowe's 'Passionate Shepherd' was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days; and Mr. Wharton observes, that in 'England's Helicon' it is subscribed Ignoto, Raleigh's constant signature. Another very able critic however contends, that this signature was affixed by the publisher, who meant to express by it his own ignorance of the author's name: but it is to be observed, that in Mr. Steevens' copy of the first edition of the Helicon, the original signature was W. R.; the second subscription of

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
 To wayward winter reckoning yields:
 A honey tongue—a heart of gall,
 Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Ignoto (which has been followed in the subsequent editions) being, rather awkwardly, pasted over it. (See Ellis' 'Specimens of the Early English Poets.') To enable the reader to judge better of the merit of the Reply and imitation, I here subjoin Marlowe's original:—

THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERD TO HIS LOVE.

'Come live with me, and be my love;
 And we will all the pleasures prove
 That valleys, groves, and hills, and fields
 Woods, or steepy mountain yields.

And we will sit upon the rocks,
 Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks
 By shallow rivers, to whose falls
 Melodious birds sing madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of roses,
 And a thousand fragrant posies;
 A cap of flowers, and a kirtle,
 Embroider'd all with leaves of myrtle;

A gown made of the finest wool,
 Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
 Fair-lined slippers for the cold,
 With buckles of the purest gold;

A belt of straw and ivy buds,
 With coral clasps and amber studs;
 And if these pleasures may thee move,
 Come live with me, and be my love.

The shepherd swains shall dance and sing
 For thy delight, each May morning:
 If these delights thy mind may move,
 Then live with me, and be my love.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
 Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies
 Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten ;
 In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw and ivy buds,
 Thy coral clasps and amber studs ;
 All these in me no means can move
 To come to thee, and be thy love.

But could youth last, and love still breed,
 Had joys no date, nor age no need ;
 Then these delights my mind might move
 To live with thee, and be thy love.'

SONG.

' Shall I, like a hermit, dwell
 On a rock or in a cell ;
 Calling home the smallest part
 That is missing of my heart,
 To bestow it where I may
 Meet a rival every day ?
 If she undervalue me,
 What care I how fair she be ?

Were her tresses angel gold—
 If a stranger may be bold,
 Unrebuked, unafraid,
 To convert them to a braid,
 And with little more ado
 Work them into bracelets too ;
 If the mine be grown so free,
 What care I how rich it be ?

Were her hand as rich a prize
 As her pair of precious eyes—
 If she lay them out to take
 Kisses for good manner's sake,
 And let every lover skip
 From her hand unto her lip ;
 If she seem not chaste to me,
 What care I how chaste she be ?

No: she must be perfect snow
 In effect, as well as show;
 Warning, but as snow-balls do,
 Not like fire by burning too:
 But when she by change hath got
 To her heart a second lot;
 Then, if others share with me,
 Farewell her—whate'er she be.'

A VISION UPON THE FAIRY QUEEN.

(*Prefixed to the First Edition of that Work.*)*

Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
 Within that temple where the vestal flame
 Was wont to burn: and passing by that way,
 To see that buried dust of living fame,

Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
 All suddenly I saw the Fairy Queen;
 At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
 And from thenceforth those Graces were not seen—

For they this Queen attended, in whose stead
 Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse.
 Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
 And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce:

Where Homer's sprite did tremble all for grief,
 And cursed th' access of that celestial thief.

THE FAREWELL.†

Go Soul, the Body's guest,
 Upon a thankless errand:
 Fear not to touch the best;
 The truth shall be thy warrant.

* The letter, by way of argument to explain Spenser's Poem, is addressed 'To the Right Noble and Valorous Sir Walter Raleigh.'

† This very beautiful poem, glowing with moral pathos, is

Go, since I needs must die,
And give them all the lie.

Go tell the Court, it glows,
And shines like painted wood;
Go tell the Church, it shows
What's good, but does no good:
If Court and Church reply,
Give Court and Church the lie.

Tell Potentates, they live
Acting—but oh! their actions
Not loved, unless they give;
Nor strong, but by their factions.
If Potentates reply,
Give Potentates the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
That rule affairs of state,
Their purpose is ambition;
Their practice only hate:
And, if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell those that have it most,
They beg for more by spending;
Who, in their greatest cost,
Seek nothing but commending:
And, if they make reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

Tell Zeal, it lacks devotion:
Tell Love, it is but lust:
Tell Time, it is but motion;
Tell Flesh, it is but dust:

usually stated to have been written by Raleigh the night before his execution: it had appeared, however, ten years before that event (somewhat differently expressed) in 'Davison's Rhapsody,' and is also to be found in a MS. Collection of Poems in the British Museum, dated 1596. It is printed, it may be added, among the works of Joshua Sylvester, fol. 1641.

And wish them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

Tell Age, it daily wasteth ;
Tell Honour, how it alters ;
Tell Beauty, that it blasteth ;
Tell Favour, that she falters :
And, as they do reply,
Give every one the lie.

Tell Wit, how much it wrangles
In fickle points of niceness ;
Tell Wisdom, she entangles
Herself in over-wisness :
And if they do reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Tell Physic of her boldness ;
Tell Skill, it is pretension ;
Tell Charity of coldness ;
Tell Law, it is contention :
And, if they yield reply,
Then give them still the lie.

Tell Fortune of her blindness ;
Tell Nature of decay ;
Tell Friendship of unkindness ;
Tell Justice of delay :
And, if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell Arts, they have no soundness,
But vary by esteeming ;
Tell Schools, they lack profoundness,
And stand too much on seeming :
If Arts and Schools reply,
Give Arts and Schools the lie.

Tell Faith, it's fled the city ;
Tell how the Country erreth ;
Tell, Manhood shakes off pity ;
Tell, Virtue least preferreth :

And, if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

So when thou hast, as I
 Commanded thee, done blabbing,
Although to give the lie
 Deserves no less than stabbing ;
Yet stab at thee who will,
No stab the soul can kill.

WILLIAM CAMDEN.*

[1551—1623.]

WILLIAM CAMDEN, son of Sampson Camden, paper-stainer of Lichfield, who had settled in London, was born in the latter city in 1551. The rudiments of his education he received at Christ's Hospital; but at twelve years of age, having been greatly injured in his health by the plague, he remained for some time in so languid a condition, that he was unable to pursue his studies. On his recovery, he went to St. Paul's school till he was fifteen, and was then sent to Oxford, and admitted a servitor in Magdalen College. Here he finished his classical learning in the school belonging to that society, under the care of Dr. Thomas Cooper, afterward Bishop of Lincoln. Being disappointed of a demy's place in his College, he removed to Broadgate-Hall (now Pembroke College) and there continued his academical pursuits for two years under Dr. Thomas Thornton; who conceiving sentiments of high regard for his young pupil, became his first patron, and on his promotion to a canonry of Christ Church, took

* AUTHORITIES. *Biographia Britannica*, and *Life of Camden* by Gibson, prefixed to his Edition of the *Britannia*.

him along with him, and lodged him in his own apartments.

The number of Camden's friends quickly increased, and by their persuasion he offered himself as a candidate for a fellowship in All Souls' College; but, the influence of the Popish party prevailing, the election was carried against him. In 1570, he met with a still more severe mortification, being refused the degree of B. A., though no reason was assigned for so extraordinary a circumstance.

About this time he formed a close friendship with Richard and George Carew, gentlemen of respectable families and fortunes in Devonshire, the latter of whom was created Earl of Totness by James I. His new friends were antiquarians, and from conversing with them Camden derived an inclination to study this branch of history; with which he was at length so fascinated, that he says, 'he could never hear any thing mentioned relative to it, without more than ordinary attention.' It thenceforward engrossed 'all his spare-hours, and his festival-days.' To the pursuit of it he voluntarily sacrificed every other view, and even renounced what are more commonly denominated domestic pleasures; lest preferment, or marriage, should interrupt his favourite occupation. Of these laudable researches, the antiquities of his own country were the object; and both before and after he left the University he made frequent excursions, sometimes in company with the Carews, and at other times alone, into the different counties,* in order to procure materials for those

* His own words are, *Relictâ Academiâ, studio incitatus satis magnam Angliæ partem fide oculatâ obivi.*

collections, from which he subsequently composed his 'Britannia.'

In 1571, he accepted an earnest invitation from Dr. Gabriel Goodman Dean of Westminster, and Dr. Godfrey Goodman his brother, to settle near them in Westminster; they undertaking to supply him with books, and every other accommodation, till he should meet with preferment suitable to his merit. In 1573, he went to Oxford, and remained there nearly two years, during which time he is supposed to have taken his degree of B. A.; and in 1575, through the interest of his friend the Dean, he was appointed second master of Westminster school; in which station he eminently signalised himself, and strengthened his useful connexions. He could, now, only devote his leisure-hours to his favourite study; yet he had already made such a progress in it, that his reputation as an antiquary daily increased, and procured him the esteem of men of the highest literary distinction. Hotoman, the celebrated French civilian, and Secretary to the Earl of Leicester; Justus Lipsius, the critic; James Dousa (or Vander-Doos) the younger, of the Hague; and Gruter of Antwerp, an illustrious philologist, kept up a constant correspondence with him: while Peiresc, the great patron of learning, with Pithœus and Puteanus, was ranked among the number of his friends. To these may be added the illustrious English names of Sir Henry Savil, and his brother Mr. Thomas Savil; Sir Henry Spelman; Archbishop Usher, who assisted him in the affairs of Ireland; and Dr. Johnston of Aberdeen, to whom upon the subject of Scottish antiquities he was indebted for similar favours. But the chief promoters of his 'Britannia' were Sir

Philip Sidney, who furnished him with important communications, and made him several considerable presents; and Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, the most celebrated geographer of the age, who upon his visit to England, being introduced to Camden, was so much struck with his remarks, that he strongly importuned him to complete and publish a history of the ancient state of Britain. Accordingly, with unwearied assiduity he collected every anecdote, dispersed in the works of old writers, respecting the British Isles. With the same attention, he examined all the chronicles of his country at that time extant. He, likewise, purchased several valuable manuscripts, and explored all the records in the public offices. In fine, he visited every repository of learning in the kingdom; and inspected on the spot every monument of antiquity, which might serve to illustrate his work.*

At length, after ten years of indefatigable industry, in 1586 the first edition of his *Britannia*, in Latin, made its appearance, in one volume 8vo. The title in English is, ‘*Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent Islands, from the remotest antiquity.*’ This elaborate work was dedicated to Lord Burghley, whose kind patronage the author acknowledges with great gratitude.

Camden’s reputation was now raised so high, that he was stiled by some foreigners the ‘*Varro*,’ and by

* In 1561, the learned M. Brisson, President of the Parliament of Paris, visited England on public affairs, and forming an intimacy with Camden, imparted to him some important communications from ancient manuscripts in the French libraries.

others the 'Strabo' and the 'Pausanias' of his age. These encomiums inciting him to add every practicable improvement to his performance, with this view he passed a considerable part of the year 1589 at Ilfracomb, a prebend of the cathedral of Salisbury, to which he had recently been presented by Bishop Piers. After visiting every part of the west of England, he proceeded to Wales, in company with the learned Dr. Godwin, subsequently Bishop of Hereford: by whose assistance he was enabled to insert many valuable discoveries in the fourth edition of his 'Britannia,' published in 4to. in 1594.

Dr. Graunt, the Head-Master of Westminster school, dying in 1592, Camden was appointed to succeed him; but, being at this time afflicted with an ~~ague~~ ^{ag}, he forbore making any excursions in pursuit of his favourite plan till the summer-vacation of 1593. He then visited Oxford, and carefully copied the heraldry and inscriptions of the monuments in its various churches.

His next performance was, in 1597, a Greek Grammar for the use of Westminster school, which was almost exclusively adopted in all the public seminaries for above a century after his death: so constant indeed was the demand for it, both at home and abroad, that a new edition was printed every year.* His friends, however, thought the office of a schoolmaster at once too fatiguing for his constitution, and too sedentary for his active genius. To

* This Grammar, the abridgement of a more copious work drawn up by his predecessor, has gone through above a hundred editions!

relieve him therefore from a station, which prevented the exertion of his peculiar talents, they procured for him through the interest of Sir Fulke Greville the office of Clarenceux, second King at Arms. This appointment excited the cynicism of Ralph Brooke, the York Herald, who to gratify his spleen, completed a tract entitled, 'A Discovery of Certain Errors published in print in the much-commended Britannia.' These errors however being extremely trifling, as they chiefly respected pedigrees, in which branch it might well be imagined the herald after many years' practice was more critically exact than the schoolmaster, his reputation suffered no injury from this piece of ill-natured criticism.

Brooke had, naturally, imbibed from his office high notions of the dignity of heraldic studies; and, therefore, it is unfair to ascribe his virulent and malicious charges of plagiarism entirely to envy: more particularly, as he had begun his work prior to Camden's promotion, and not intending it for publication, had liberally offered it to his perusal.* That

* It was fastidiously however, perhaps haughtily, rejected; on the false principle, that to correct his errors in genealogy might discredit the whole production. Yet Brooke respectfully observes of the Topographer, "The most abstruse arts I profess not, but yield the palm and victory to mine adversary, that great learned Mr. Camden; with whom yet a long experienced navigator may contend about his chart and compass, about havens, creeks, and sounds: so I, an ancient herald, a little dispute, without imputation of audacity, concerning the honour of arms and the truth of honourable descents."

Yet Camden, in his angry reply (in Latin, addressed *Ad Lectorem*) never alludes to Brooke otherwise than by a *Quidam*, and an *Iste*: "disguising himself," as his exasperated opponent observes, "in his school-rhetoric; wherein, like the cuttle-fish, being stricken, he thinks to hide and shift himself away in the

work, notwithstanding it's objectionably caustic invective, is still valuable for it's peculiar researches. It was violently disturbed indeed in it's progress, and hurried in a mutilated state into the world: but it's author, though thus by the intervention of Camden's powerful connexions denied the fair freedom of the press, calmly pursued his silent labour. Of his 'Second Discovery of Errors,' however, which was an enlargement of the first, he could never effect the publication. If then, as he proceeded, his reproaches became keener and less generous, may they not rather be regarded as the effect of contempt and persecution acting upon a vexed spirit, than as the result of personal rancour? Camden even went so far, as to allow no private communication with his official colleague.

In 1600, Camden undertook a journey to the north of England, accompanied by Sir Robert Cotton* the founder of the Cottonian Library, spent

ink of his rhetoric. I will (he adds) clear the water again." Brooke afterward warmly repels the accusation brought against him as an enemy to learning, and appeals to many scholars, who had tasted of his liberality at the Universities. Camden, though he could not endure with patient dignity his adversary's corrections, had the wisdom and the meanness silently in his edition of 1600 to adopt them. Thus from the spleen of a mortified herald, as it has been observed, arose great advantages to the public, by the shifting and bringing to light as good, perhaps a better account of our nobility, than had been given at that time of those in any other country of Europe.

* Sir Robert Cotton, son of Thomas Cotton, Esq. of Denton Hall near Conington in Huntingdonshire, was born in 1570, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. In his twenty-ninth year, when he made with Camden the antiquarian tour in question, he had greatly augmented, by purchase and otherwise, his literary treasures. At the time of

some time at Carlisle, and surveyed every remarkable curiosity in that part of the island. Before the close

their acquisition, many of them were in loose skins, small tracts, or very thin volumes: of such, he caused several to be bound in a single cover. They relate especially to the history and antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland; enriched however with whatever could be procured, that was curious or valuable, in every other branch of literature. At this period, the contents of the monastic libraries, with other choice remains of ancient learning, saved from the wreck of college-collections at the visitations of those seminaries, lay dispersed in private hands. Several antiquarians, before Cotton (Josceline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Elsing, &c.) had diligently gathered portions of the scattered fragments; and, of these accumulations, many were successively concentrated in the Cottonian hoard.

Respected by his Sovereigns, and admired by all the literati in Europe, he saw himself in as eminent a situation as wealth, talents, taste, and integrity can place an individual. His collection of books increased rapidly; but MS. records, deeds, and charters were the chief objects of his pursuit. His mansion noble, his library extensive, and his own manners such as conciliated the esteem of almost every one who approached him. He was doomed, however, to have the evening of his life clouded by a most disastrous event. In 1615, some wretch communicated the 'valuable state-papers in his library to the Spanish Ambassador, who caused them to be copied and translated into Spanish.' These papers were of too much importance to be made public; and James I. had the meanness to issue a commission, 'which excluded Sir Robert from his own library.' The storm quickly blew over, and Cotton's integrity was proved to be spotless. But in 1629 it was reported by another calumniator (his librarian) of the name of James, that 'he had been privy to a treasonable publication;' because the original tract, from which the criminated copy was taken, had been introduced in 1613 without his knowledge into the Cottonian collection! This wretch had even the baseness 'for pecuniary considerations' to suffer one or more copies of the pamphlet to be taken, and in consequence printed. Sir Robert was, therefore, again singled out for royal vengeance; his library was once more put under sequestration, and the owner a second

of the year, likewise, he published in small quarto
 ‘ A Description of all the Monuments of the Kings,

time forbidden to enter it. It was in vain, that he re-established his complete innocence. He declared to his friend, Sir Simon D’Ewes, who “went several times in 1630 to visit and comfort him,” that ‘they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him:’ which declaration he solemnly repeated to the Privy Council. The tract in question, entitled ‘A Proposition for his Majesty’s Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments,’ was written by Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, then in exile at Florence, with a view to conciliate the favour of James I. It had been lent out by James; and it was handed about chiefly among the patriotic party, who probably considered it (as some have considered Machiavel’s Prince), however intended, as an useful warning against the schemes of despotism. In 1631, having previously requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the Council, that ‘their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady,’ he expired.

His library, which he directed by his will should pass on entire to his heirs, continued under sequestration for some time after his death, and was with difficulty preserved entire during the shock of the civil wars. It received some augmentations from his son, and from his grandson. In the reign of King William, an Act of Parliament was made for the better securing of it in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public, in order to prevent it’s being sold or otherwise disposed of. Cotton-House was subsequently purchased by Queen Anne of his great grandson, as a common repository for the Royal and the Cottonian libraries: and both the edifice, and it’s contents, were by another Act vested in trustees. In 1712, it was removed to Essex-House; and, eighteen years afterward, deposited in Little Dean’s Yard. By a fire, which took place in 1730, of it’s 958 volumes 97 were destroyed, and 105 damaged. In 1753, it was purchased by Parliament, and lodged in the British Museum. The collection now contains 26,000 articles.

With the sagacity and the judgement of Lord Coke, Cotton

Queens, Nobles, and others in Westminster Abbey, with their Inscriptions; together with an Historical

had a more polished mind, and a more benevolent heart. Distinguished almost equally by his academical, his philosophical, his legislative, and his diplomatical labours, he was the *Mecænas* of his day. To Speed, in particular, he proved himself, both by his advice and by his donations, a most valuable friend. He knew that the tomb, which recorded the worth of it's occupant, had more honest tears shed upon it, than the mausoleum which spoke only of his pedigree or his possessions. Accordingly, although he had excellent blood flowing in his veins, he sought connexion with the good, rather than with the great; and where he found a cultivated understanding, and an honest heart, thither he carried with him his *Lares*, and made another's abode his own. (*Bibliom.*) He was the author of various productions upon several public questions.

He was the twenty-ninth in the long list of Baronets created by James I., upon the institution of that dignity, May 22, 1611; and has been said by some indeed, with a view of enabling his Majesty to "support and repair his estate," to have suggested the order itself. He was subsequently employed by James, to refute the representations of his mother's conduct given by Buchanan and Thuanus; and what he drew up on this subject is supposed to have been interwoven with his '*Annals of Elizabeth*,' or subjoined to his '*Epistles*.' Another task imposed upon him, by his Sovereign was, to inquire into the laws enacted for the suppression of Popery, upon which topic he wrote two Tracts. When the Spanish match for Prince Charles was in agitation, he was desired by the House of Commons to furnish an Historical Proof of the bad faith of the House of Austria in all their dealings with England, and of their schemes for Universal Monarchy. He also composed, in 1621, '*A Relation to prove that the Kings of England have been pleased to consult with their Peers in the great Council, and Commons in Parliament, of Marriage, Peace, and War*.' This Tract has been reprinted under the title of, '*The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments*.' He drew up, likewise, '*A Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of England, against certain Innovations moved by the Puritans*.' Other Tracts of his, also, are still extant upon various subjects.

Account of the Foundation of that Church.' The fifth edition of his 'Britannia' also appeared in this year, with a defence against Brooke's animadversions.

He had long formed the plan of writing a civil history of his native country; but it is probable that the change of affairs, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, prevented his carrying it into execution: as, soon after that event, he sent his valuable manu-

He, farther, meditated writing 'An Account of the State of Christianity in these Islands, from it's original Reception to the Reformation.' The first part of this design was executed by Archbishop Usher, in his Book '*De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*,' compiled probably at the request of Sir Robert, who left eight volumes of collections for the continuation of the work.

He was a Member of the first Parliament of Charles I., and joined in the complaints of national grievances, though he wished to owe the redress of them to mild measures. He afterward inculcated upon the King and his Council the sound advice of resorting to Parliament alone for the raising of money, and of gaining it's good will by removing all jealousies concerning liberty and religion. Consulted in 1626 by his infatuated Sovereign upon the unprincipled project of debasing the national coin, in a speech before the Privy Council he powerfully and successfully opposed it. This is printed in the '*Cottoni Posthuma*' published by Mr. James Howell, who in his prefatory address 'To the knowing Reader,' justly states, that "he was a great zealot to his country; that in all parliaments, where he served so often, his main endeavours were to assert the public liberty, and that prerogative and privilege might run in their due channel; that he would often say, 'that he himself had the least share in himself,' but his country and his friends had the greatest interest in him; and that he might be said to be in a perpetual pursuit after virtue and knowledge." From these proofs of his attachment to the constitution, he was considered as no friend to violent exertions of the royal prerogative; which circumstance, together with the enmity of the prelates Laud and Neile, probably led to the attack made upon him in 1629.

scripts and printed copies of the ancient historians of Britain to Frankfort, where a new edition of these remains was published under his correction with the following title: ‘*Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus descripta; ex quibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de vita Gulielmi Conquæstoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis, plerique nunc in lucem editi ex bibliotheca Gulielmi Camdeni.*’ This judicious collection he dedicated to his constant friend Sir Fulke Greville. In 1605, he published, in 4to. ‘Remains of a greater Work concerning Britain, the Inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empresses, Wise Speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphs.’ This curious piece, relating chiefly to the habits, manners, and customs of the ancient Britons and Saxons, is addressed to Sir Robert Cotton, in a dedication subscribed with the final letters of the author’s name, M. N.*

* This caution arose probably out of a consciousness of the trifling nature of its contents, which he himself in a disparaging preface represents, as “the mere rubbish of a more serious work.” Yet upon some occasions he appears to show a paternal fondness for the collection, which in fact went through several editions. It is remarkable, that Camden is one of those, who have designated their writings by the final letters of their names. M. N., as above mentioned, is subscribed to the end of the dedication of his ‘Remains concerning Britaine.’ The same letters were used, on the same principle, by William Wotton. Other instances are R. T. for Peter Pett, N. S. for John Wilkins, H. D. for Seth Ward, S. S. for Thomas Rogers, S. N. for Thomas Vaughan, Y. E. for Henry Stubbe, N. Y. for John Dury, H. B. for Ralph Bathurst, and M. M. for William Needham.

In 1606, beside his epistolary communications on the subject of Great Britain to the learned and excellent President de Thou (Thuanus) we find him, for the first time, employed in the service of a royal patron. James I., desirous to expose to the eyes of Europe the machinations of his Popish enemies, and at the same time to justify the rigorous measures adopted for the subsequent security of his kingdoms, resolved to publish a manifesto in Latin, for the purpose of being circulated at all the courts of the Continent: and Camden, having the reputation of being the most elegant and correct classic in England, was ordered to draw it up. This piece made it's appearance in 1607, and does great honour to it's writer, with respect not only to the stile, but also to the manner in which he has treated his subject. The same year, likewise, he gave to the world the sixth edition of his *Britannia* in folio, considerably enlarged, and illustrated with maps.

In 1612, he visited Oxford on a mournful occasion, to show the last solemn token of respect to the manes of his deceased friend Sir Thomas Bodley.*

* This gentleman, the founder of the magnificent library called after him 'The Bodleian,' was the son of an eminent merchant at Exeter, who having embraced the Reformed Religion, and being menaced with persecution on that account, fled with his son to Geneva, and remained there during the turbulent reign of Mary.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, they returned home with the other Protestant exiles; and young Bodley, having made a considerable progress while abroad in divinity and the learned languages, under the tuition of Calvin and Beza, Cevalerius,

This work, he had begun in 1597, by the desire of

Merton College ; 38 volumes of singular good books in folio, &c. &c.

Mr. Philip Scudamor ; 50 volumes, greatest part in folio.

Mr. William Gent ; 100 volumes, at the least.

Mr. Lawrence Bodley ; 37 very fair and new-bought books, in folio, beside money-donations.

A second list, in a letter of the following year (1602) addressed to Dr. Ravis, contains the names of *Sir John Fortescue, Knt.* ; *Mr. Jo. Crooke*, Recorder of the City of London ; *Mr. Henry Savile* ; *Mr. William Gent*, of Gloucester-Hall ; *Mr. Thomas Allen*, of ditto ; *Mr. William Camden* by his office *Clarentius*, and *Mr. Thomas James*, &c.

Letters likewise of Bodley's dated in 1608, 1609, and 1611 furnish proofs of his indefatigable activity in availing himself of every species of convenient conveyance for his literary treasures, in soliciting farther subscriptions from his wealthy acquaintance, in procuring foreign libraries to be ransacked for the completion of his own, and even in examining the timbers intended for the rising edifice. In one of them he modestly observes, that 'the public honours, entertainments, letters, gifts, and other graces conferred upon him have far exceeded the compass of his merits ;' and adds, "albeit, among a number of natural imperfections, I have least of all offended in the humour of ambition, yet now so it is, that I do somewhat repent me of my too much niceness that way ; not as carried with an appetite to make more riches to myself (wherein, God is my witness, my content is complete), but only in respect of my greedy desire to make a livelier demonstration of the same that I bear to my COMMON MOTHER, than I have hitherto attained sufficient ability to put in execution."

"After his death (adds the Editor of '*Oxoniana*') the Earl of Pembroke, by the persuasion of Archbishop Laud, gave to the library almost all the collection of Greek manuscripts, which Francis Baroccio the Venetian had collected with great pains and cost, and which is thought to be the most valuable that ever came into England at one time. The Earl reserved twenty-two of them for his own use : but these were afterward bought, and

Lord Burghley, who supplied him with much valuable

presented to the library, by Oliver Cromwell; and to these Sir Thomas Roe, our Ambassador to Constantinople, added another choice collection of Greek manuscripts. Sir Kenelm Digby, having sent into the East to purchase Oriental manuscripts, and into Germany to buy curious books, presented a large collection to the library, among which were upward of two hundred manuscripts."

At Laud's desire, likewise, the University erected a room over the new Convocation-House, which brought the library into the shape of a Roman H, it's present form. In this part the Archbishop's excellent collection, and that of the learned John Selden, acquired by negotiation with his executors, are placed. Selden had originally intended to leave his books to the Bodleian; but upon being refused the loan of some manuscripts (which could not statutablely be carried out of the library) he altered his design, and left them to the society of the Inner Temple, on condition that they with the students of the Middle Temple should erect a building suitable for their reception, in failure of which his executors were at liberty to bestow them upon any public body. One of the terms of their arrangement with Oxford was, that "the books be for ever hereafter kept together in one distinct pile and body under the name of 'Mr. Selden's Library.'"

It was upon visiting this celebrated collection in 1605, that James I. (as we are informed by Burton, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholy') "in imitation of Alexander, at his departure broke out into that noble speech; 'If I were not a King, I would be an University-man. And if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that library, and to be chained together with so many good authors *et mortuis magistris.*'"

Other principal benefactors were General Fairfax, Dr. Marshall Rector of Lincoln College. Bishops Barlow and Tanner; Drs. Godwin and Rawlinson, Browne Willis (the two latter to a great amount in coins, seals, &c.). Antony Wood, &c. These donations, with several collections purchased by the University from Drs. Huntington and Pocock, Mr. Greaves, &c. have made it one of the largest libraries in Europe.

information. But on the death of that minister he

In consequence of the inadequacy of the apartment to so many generous and magnificent accumulations, Sir Thomas Bodley (for he had received from King James, upon his accession, the doubtful honour of knighthood) offered to make considerable additions to it; and on the nineteenth of July, 1610, he laid the first stone of the new foundation. He did not, indeed, live to see the structure completed; but he had the satisfaction to learn, that it was intended immediately afterward to enlarge the plan of the whole edifice, and in the end to form a regular quadrangle: and as he knew that his own fortune was inadequate to this great work, he engaged several persons of rank and fortune to forward it by large presents to the University, beside bequeathing to it his whole estate. He, likewise, drew up some excellent statutes for the regulation of the library, which seems to have been the last act of his life. He died January 28, 1612-13, and was buried in the chapel of Merton College, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory: a bust likewise, "carved to the life by an excellent hand at London," was placed in a niche in the south wall of the library, at the expense of the Earl of Dorset Chancellor of the University, with the following inscription;

THOMAS SACKVILLUS DORSET. COMES
SUMMUS ANGLIÆ THESAURAR. ET
IIUJUS ACAD. CANCELLAR.
THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO
QUI BIBLIOTHECAM HANC INSTITUIT
HONORIS CAUSA P. P.

And a speech is still annually delivered, at Oxford, in his praise. In 1613 also a '*Luctus*,' or collection of Funereal Verses, was consecrated to his honour under the title of '*Iusta Funebria Ptolemæi Oxoniensis, Thomæ Bodleji Equitis Aurati, celebrata in Academia Oxoniensi, Mensis Martii 29, 1613, 4to.*' Of these, one was composed by Laud, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury; three came from the pen of Burton, author of the '*Anatomy of Melancholy*;' and a fifth in Greek, by Isaac Casaubon,

laid it aside, till he had finished his favourite work the 'Britannia;' after which, receiving fresh materials from his friend Sir Thomas Bodley, he in 1615 with a great accession of reputation published the Annals as far as he had proceeded. In 1617, he had brought them down, in a second part, to the death of Elizabeth; but apprehending that there were some passages in this continuation, which might not be well

was written in the very library founded by his illustrious subject. The insertion of the first may gratify the classical reader.

*Si sint vivaces hominum monumenta libelli,
 Nomine si dignos Musa perire vetet ;
 Quàm famæ, Bodleicæ, tuæ monumenta supersunt
 Plurima ! quàmque tibi est debita longa dies !
 Nec justum reor ut mors, quæ tamen omnibus una
 Dicitur, æquali sit tibi lege data.
 Ergo mortalis quod vitæ fata negârunt,
 Concedet seræ posteritatis amor :
 Et nova consurgens olim testabitur ætas,
 Quam dignus fueras non potuisse mori.*
 GUIL. LAUD, Sac. Theol. Doct. et Coll. Johan. Præses.

IMITATED.

If, Bodley, 'tis by books lost talents live,
 If the fond Muse forbid the wise to die ;
 What crowded monuments of thee survive !
 How due to thee is immortality !

Nor fits it, thou in common dust should'st fade,
 Though Death o'er all his rod impartial wield ;
 That, which humanity's stern laws forbade,
 The love of late posterity shall yield :

And many a race yet future shall relate,
 How worthy Thou to' have 'scaped the universal fate.

F. W.

received by the court, he would not suffer it to appear so long as he lived.*

Being now grown old and infirm, he resolved to devote part of his fortune to the encouragement of that branch of literature, by which he himself had attained distinction and opulence. With this view, in 1622 he founded a professorship of history † in the University of Oxford with a salary of 140*l. per ann.*, arising out of his manor of Bexley in Kent; and having nominated Mr. Degory Wheare, who had distinguished himself by his historical knowledge, to be his first Professor, it seemed as if the business of his life had been completed: for on the eighteenth of August 1623, as he was sitting in his study, he suddenly lost the use of his hands and feet, and fell upon the floor. From this accident, however, he received no apparent hurt; he even recovered the use of his limbs: but the disorder terminated in a fever, of which he died, November 9, at his house at Chislehurst.

* The first edition of the supplementary matter was published at Leyden, in 8vo., in 1625: and the first edition of the *Annals* complete, in folio, at London in 1627. It has been republished by Hearne, with many useful additions, and is one of the best historical productions of the moderns.

† The lecturer, as we learn from a MS. of his in the Bodleian Library, was to “read a civil history, and therein make such observations as might be most useful and profitable for the younger students in the University; to direct and instruct them in the knowledge and use of history, antiquity, and times past—not intermeddling with the history of the church, or controversies, farther than shall give light into those times which he shall then unfold or that author which he then shall read, and that very briefly, &c.”

His books of heraldry he bequeathed to the Herald's Office; and all the rest, printed and manuscript, to the library of his friend Sir Robert Cotton. By the contrivance however of the Lord Keeper Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, who took advantage of an equivocal expression in the will, the printed part was subsequently removed to the library newly established in the latter church.

His remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey, in the south-aisle, near the learned Isaac Casaubon of Geneva. His funeral was conducted with great pomp: the College of Herald's attended in their proper habits; several of the nobility and other persons of distinction walked in the procession, and a funeral sermon in Latin was preached by Dr. Sutton the Sub-Dean. A handsome monument, likewise, was erected to his memory.*

The character of Camden, both as a writer and as a man, acquired him the highest degree of reputation; and every one eminent for any branch of learning, either at home or abroad, cultivated his correspondence and intimacy. To have travelled into England, and not to have visited him, would have been deemed a discreditable omission in foreigners; and as to his own countrymen, his most illustrious contemporaries record their veneration for him, and account it an honour to have ranked themselves in the number of his friends. He was visited by six

* This was defaced, it is said, by a young gentleman, who in resentment of some reflexion thrown out by Camden against the reputation of his mother, broke off the nose from his effigies; but it has been lately repaired, at the expense of the University of Oxford.

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German noblemen at one time, in each of whose books he inscribed a Lemma, as a testimony of the interview. As an antiquarian, he is justly reckoned the father of that branch of study in England; and, though he did not bring to it all the knowledge and judgement that might have been desired, yet by his industry he collected a mass of materials, which has served as the basis for all subsequent accumulations. As an historian, he deserves considerable praise. "His 'History of Elizabeth' (we are told by Hume, who is not forward to lavish panegyric upon English authors) may be esteemed good composition both for stile and manner. It is written with simplicity of expression, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not perhaps be too much to affirm, that it is among the best historical productions, which have yet been composed by any Englishman.*" It may be suspected, however, that it received no advantage from being submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth's successor. His account of Scottish affairs under Queen Mary, we are assured by Robertson, is less accurate than any other. He had a taste for the elegance of literature, and wrote Latin verse with purity and harmony.

Beside the works already mentioned, a large collection of his Latin Letters, with some small tracts, has been published by Hearne, from the collections of Dr. Smith.

Of his great performance, the 'Britannia,' an English translation was published in folio by the in-

* Close of James I.

defatigable Philemon Holland, in 1611, with the assistance (as it is supposed) of Camden himself; which was reprinted, with many alterations, in 1636. A much better translation, however, was given to the public in 1695, in folio, by Edmund Gibson of Queen's College, Oxford, afterward Bishop of London; with additions worthy of Camden himself. This was reprinted, with additions, in two volumes folio in 1722 and 1773. Finally, in 1789 a new version from the edition of 1607, in three volumes folio, made it's appearance under the following title: 'Britannia; or a Chorographical Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands adjacent, from the earliest Antiquity. By William Camden. Translated from the Edition published by the Author in 1607. Enlarged by the latest Discoveries, and illustrated with a new Set of Maps and other Copper-Plates, by Richard Gough, F. A. and R. SS.'

Of his minor Tracts, one upon the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of Heralds in England, is inserted as a specimen of his stile and studies.

'Among all civil nations, since civility first entered the world, there have been officers of arms as mediators to negotiate peace and war between princes and countries. The ancient Greeks called them *Kηρυκες*, by whose meditation solemn covenants with their enemies were made. They were men of especial reputation, and carried for their ensign a *Caduceus* (whereupon they were also called '*Caduceatores*') which was a white staff, whereunto were fixed two serpents, male and female, whereunto was added afterwards *Copia-cornu*. The staff was white, in

token of simple truth: the serpents betokened wisdom: both sexes, as also the *Copia-cornu*, betokened fruitful increase and plenty, the companions of peace. They were sent to redeem captives, to treat of peace, to procure safe conducts for ambassadors, to require the dead bodies to be buried. Inviolable they were in the greatest rage of war, and reputed men of a divine original; as first descended from *Κηρυκος*, the son of Mercury, of whom they were named *Κηρυκες*, and hereupon Homer calleth Eumedes *Θεῖον Κηρυκα*. It were needless, here, to mention their rites in making peace; how they brought two lambs, fruits in a bottle of goat-skin, golden chargers, and other vessels, &c., as it is noted by Homer.

‘The Romans likewise had their *Fæciales*, so called *à fide et fœdere faciēdo*, first instituted in Italy by Hæssus, and brought to Rome first by Ancus Martius: their college consisted of twenty. The principal was called ‘*Pater Patratus*,’ because it was requisite that he should be *Patrimus*, that is, have his father alive, and he himself have children. The second was called ‘*Verbenaceus*,’ because when the *Fæciales* were sent *clarigatum*, that is ‘to challenge goods taken away *clarâ voce*,’ he carried the herb *verbena* with flint-stones *et vivax è cespite gramen*, as Ovid calleth it, which he received of the Prætor.

‘Dionysius Halicarnass. recordeth, that six especial points were incident to their office. First, That they should have a care, lest the people of Rome should wage war against any of their confederates. Secondly, That they should challenge, and require again, goods injuriously taken away by enemies. Thirdly, That they should proclaim war against such as refused to

make restitution. Fourthly, That they should take notice of injuries done contrary to covenants. Fifthly, That they should carefully provide, that conditions should be faithfully observed. Sixthly, That they should treat and compound peace, and take notice what generals and commanders had done contrary to their oath. When they required restitution, they wore on their head a hood of yarn, and used these words: *Audi Jupiter, audite Fines, audiat Fas; ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani, justè pièque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit, &c.* Likewise, when they proclaimed war, they did cast into the enemies' country a bloody spear burned at the upper end, uttering these words, as Au. Gellius reporteth: *Quòd populus [Hermundulus] hominesque populi [Hermunduli] adversus populum Romanum bellum fecère deliquèrequè; Quòdque populus Romanus cum populo [Hermundulo] hominibusque [Hermundulis] bellum jussit, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populo [Hermundulo] populisque [Hermundulis] bellum indico facioque.* But this was, *stante republicâ*. Under the emperors, as I find no mention of the *Fæciales*, yet it seemed they continued: for, when Ammianus Marcellinus maketh mention of the siege of Amidas under Julian, he reported that a Persian did cast into the town a bloody lance. *ut moris est nostri.* After the decay of the Roman empire, and erection of kingdoms, the heralds of the old Franks carried *virgas consecratas*, when they were employed in messages, that they might not be touched or troubled by any: and this was *juxta ritum Francorum*, as Gregorius Turonensis writeth, VII. 32.

‘But in the time of Carolus Magnus began both

the reputation, honour, and name of *Heralds*, as *Æneas Sylvius* reporteth out of an old library-book of St. Paul, the author whereof derived their name from *Heros*; but others, to whom most incline, from the German word *Herald*, which signifieth ‘old and ancient master.’ Yet he which writeth notes upon Willeram saith, that *Herald* signifieth, ‘faithful to the army;’ and I have found, in some Saxon treatise, *Heold* interpreted *Summus Præpositus*. Nevertheless, this name is rare, or not found in the history of Charles the Great, nor in the times ensuing for a long space, either by our writers or French writers. The first mention, that I remember of them in England, was about the time of King Edward I. For in the statute of arms or weapons, [it was ordained] that ‘the Kings of *Heralds* should wear no armour but their swords, pointless; and that they should only have their *Houses des Armes*; and no more, which as I conceive are their coats of arms.’ The name and honour of them was never greater, in this realm, than in the time of King Edward III.; in whose times there were Kings of Arms, *Heralds*, and *Poursevants* by patent, not only peculiar to the King, but to others of the principal nobility: and Froissart writeth, that King Edward III. made a *Poursevant* of Arms, which brought him speedy tidings of happy success in the battle of Auroye in Britanny, immediately upon the receipt of the news an herald, giving him the name of ‘Win-desore;’ and at that time were liveries of coats of arms first given unto heralds, with the King’s arms embroidered thereon, as the King himself had his robe royal set with lions of gold. In France also, as the said Froissart writeth, the same time Philip

de Valois increased greatly the state royal of France with jousts, tourneys, and heralds. As for the privileges of heralds, I refer you to the treatise thereof purposely written by Paul, Bishop of Burgos in Spain.

FRANCIS BACON,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN'S.

[1561—1626.]

FRANCIS BACON, one of the most illustrious of mankind, was the younger son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper in the reign of Elizabeth, † and Anne second daughter of Sir Antony Cooke. ‡

* AUTHORITIES. Rawley's, and Mallet's *Lives of Lord Bacon*; Tenison's *Baconiana*; Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*; and *British Biography*.

† See the Life of Lord Burghley, in this Volume, p. 183, Note †.

‡ His mother, a woman of exemplary piety, born in 1528, from her eminent attainments in literature is said to have been appointed Governess to Edward VI. She translated from the Italian into English twenty-five sermons, written by Barn. Ochinus on 'The Predestination and Election of God,' which were published about 1550. Her version of Bishop Jewel's invaluable 'Apology for the Church of England' from the Latin, made for the use of the common people, she sent to that Prelate accompanied by an epistle in Greek, which he answered in the same language. It was praised likewise, in a very delicate stile of compliment, by Archbishop Parker. He returned it to her printed, knowing (as he observed in his letter) that 'he had thereby done for the best, and in this point used a reasonable policy; that is, to prevent such excuses as her modesty would have made in stay of publishing it.'

He was born at York-House, in the Strand, January 22, 1561; and discovered such early indications of extraordinary genius, that the Queen herself, while he was yet but a boy, took a particular delight in trying him with questions; and, from the good sense and manliness of his answers, was wont to call him in mirth, 'her young Lord Keeper.'

His proficiency in learning was so rapid, that in the twelfth year of his age he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, under Whitgift (subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury) and had completed his studies there in his sixteenth;* when his father sent him to Paris, with a recommendation to Sir Amias Pawlet, at that time English Ambassador in France. The confidence of this statesman he so entirely gained, that he was soon afterward entrusted with a secret commission to the Queen, upon the satisfactory execution of which he returned to the Continent to finish his travels.

While abroad, he spent his time, not in learning the vices and follies of foreigners, but in studying their constitutions of government, their manners and

That her literary reputation extended beyond her own country, appears from the circumstance of Beza's dedicating to her his 'Meditations.' In Birch's 'Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth' her name frequently occurs, with portions of her correspondence amply justifying her character for learning. The time of her death, and the place of her burial, are equally uncertain.

* Extraordinary as it may appear, he was heard even at that early age to object to the Aristotelian system (then predominant), "not," as he himself observed to his chaplain and biographer Dr. Rawley, "for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high abilities, but for the unfruitfulness of the way, being a philosophy only for disputations and contentions, but barren in the production of works for the benefit of the life of man."

customs, and the characters and objects of their princes and ministers; and, in his nineteenth year, he drew up a 'Succinct View of the State of Europe,' which is still extant among his works.

During his residence in France, Sir Nicholas died suddenly, without having made for him any separate provision. This obliged him immediately to return home, in order to embrace some respectable employment for his support. With his father's reputation and success before him, it is no wonder that he fixed upon that of the law. He accordingly entered himself of Gray's Inn,* and speedily became so eminent in his profession, that at the age of twenty eight he was appointed by Queen Elizabeth her Counsel Extraordinary.

During the first years however of his residence in this Society, he did not confine his studies entirely to the law, but indulged his excursive genius in a survey of the whole circle of sciences. Here indeed he appears to have formed, if he did not mature, the plan of his great philosophical work.† In 1588, he was appointed Reader at Gray's Inn.

* His residence in this place he found so agreeable, that he erected there an elegant structure, long known by the name of 'Lord Bacon's Lodgings,' which he inhabited occasionally throughout the greatest part of his life.

† Whether or not this first plan has descended to us, is uncertain. It might probably be that which Gruter, in his edition of Bacon's Latin Works, has published under the title of '*Temporis Partus Maximus*.' Upon this subject the curious reader may consult Biogr. Brit. Art. BACON, Note (D.) He appears afterward, however, to have been ashamed of this pompous designation, as in a letter to Father Fulgentio (a learned Italian) he laments the puerile and vain confidence, which led him to adopt it. *Equidem memini me quadraginta abhinc annis juvenile opusculum circa has res confecisse, quod magnâ prorsus fiducia, et magis titulo, 'Temporis Partum Maximum' inscripsi.*

The Lord-Treasurer Burghley having married his aunt by the mother's side, Bacon frequently applied to him for some post under the government, with a view, as he declares, "to procure the greater assistance to his capacity and industry in perfecting his philosophical designs." But his importunity never obtained him any thing, except the reversion of the office of Register to the Star-Chamber, then reckoned worth 1,600*l. per ann.*, which did not fall to him till nearly twenty years afterward.* Thinking therefore, probably, that he was neglected by his uncle, he attached himself strongly to the Earl of Essex: and hence when that nobleman, a little before his fall, warmly solicited for Bacon the solicitor-generalship, his cousin Sir Robert Cecil successfully opposed his appointment, by representing him to the Queen as a man of mere speculation, and more likely to distract her affairs than to serve her usefully and with judgement.† This, however, appears to have been an

* This made him say, "It was like another man's ground buttalling upon his house, which might mend his prospect but did not fill his barn." In gratitude, however, for this reversion, he published in 1592 (his first political work) "Certain Observations upon a Libel entitled 'A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles,' in which he warmly vindicates at once the Lord Treasurer and his own father in particular, and occasionally the rest of Elizabeth's ministry.

† Cecil's conversation with Essex, upon this subject, is preserved by Dr. Birch in his Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth. The Earl, subsequently, generously made him a present of Twickenham Park and its Garden of Paradise, whither by his friend's indulgence he had frequently before resorted as a retreat, calculated both for study and for the restoration of his health: a donation so considerable, that Bacon himself, who speaks of this singularly noble act of friendship with warm expressions of affection and gratitude, acknowledged he sold it

unfounded calumny. Most of his works on law were printed, though not published, in this reign. In 1596, he finished his 'Maxims of the Law,' constituting the first part of his 'Elements of the common Law of England.' His second Treatise was entitled, 'The Use of the Law for Preservation of our Persons, Goods, and good Name, according to

afterward, even at an under-price, for no less a sum than 1800*l*.! Nor was he the only brother benefited by the generosity of Essex. That nobleman "had accommodated Master Antony Bacon in partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences from Scotland; who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother, the Lord Viscount St. Alban's) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could much amend his fortunes under the 'Cecilians' (to whom he was near of alliance, and in blood also) and who had made, as he was not unwilling should be believed, some great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signs of apparent discontent, to my Lord Henry Howard, afterward Earl of Northampton (who was of the party, and stood himself in much umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to my Lord of Essex, with whom he was commonly *prince admissiois* by his bed-side in the morning, and tells him that 'unless that gentleman were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented.'

"This took the Earl at that time ill-provided, as indeed oftentimes his coffers were low; whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him Essex House, which the good old Lady Walsingham did afterward discharge out of her own store with 2,500*l*.; and before he had distilled 1,500*l*., at another time, by the same skill. So as we may rate this one secret (as it was finely carried) at 4,000*l*. in present money, beside at the least 1,000*l*. of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden gentleman! What would he have gotten, if he could have gone about his business?" (*Reliq. Notton*. pp. 14, 15.)

the Laws and Customs of this Land,' a work of great value to students. In 1597, his 'Essays' were published. About the close of the following year, he drew up his 'History of the Alienation-Office.' As a farther compliment indeed to his distinguished legal attainments, the Society of Gray's-Inn in 1600 chose him double reader, which office he discharged with his usual ability.

His pecuniary embarrassments, being increased by this failure of his expectations, had a bad effect upon his constitution, which of itself delicate, had already been greatly impaired by his nightly lucubrations. The disappointment indeed, it is said, so much affected his health, that he had once resolved to hide his chagrin in some foreign country; but, fortunately for his own, the remonstrances of his friends prevailed against this rash determination. For some time afterward, however, he laid aside all thoughts of public life, and applied himself wholly to works of literature and philosophy.

It was not long, before the intimacy of Bacon and Essex degenerated into cool civility. Bacon undertook to give advice to a vain, ambitious, and impetuous nobleman, and resented the neglect of it: on the other hand, Essex grew sour and reserved to a friend, who importuned him with remonstrances against his misconduct. At length, when the latter was brought to his trial for high-treason, Bacon, in his quality of counsel-extraordinary to the Queen, pleaded against him! This conduct receives a miserable palliation from the reflexion, that he was obliged to act against him officially, or to dismiss all hopes of future preferment. It was not, unfor-

tunately, in Bacon's character to hesitate upon such an alternative.

But there is a charge against him of a deeper dye, which will not admit even of such a wretched excuse. We must remember, that an admirable judge of human nature * has pronounced him,

The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind ;

and that only as a philosopher do we deem him one of the most splendid ornaments of his country.

After the death of Essex, the sarcasms of the people upon the court-party, and even upon the Queen herself, were so severe, that the administration thought it necessary to vindicate their conduct in an appeal to the public. This odious task they artfully assigned to Bacon; and he impiously descended to prostitute his abilities in destroying the surviving fame of his benefactor, who with all his faults was still the general darling. His pamphlet, entitled 'A Declaration of the Treasons of Robert Earl of Essex,' was, in fact, a declaration that Francis Bacon wished upon any terms to be advanced at court. Here again, however, he was destined to encounter disappointment; and being unable to endure the loss of the public esteem, he drew up as a counter-piece, and addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, 'The Apology of Francis Bacon, in certain Imputations concerning the Earl of Essex. † This,

* Pope.

† "Of this apology" though certainly far from being satisfactory, "it is but fair," says Chalmers, "that we should give the outline: 'that he had given the Earl good advice, which he did

being deemed a kind of recantation, he remained unprovided for,* and deservedly unpopular till the following reign. So strongly indeed was his conduct execrated, that his very life was threatened, and for some time he went in daily danger of assassination. The obloquy, which he thus incurred, was not removed even by his death; and to this day a stigma justly cleaves to his name, in the writings of more than one historian, for his unparalleled ingratitude to his munificent patron and friend.

To obviate the continuance of this neglect, he successfully ingratiated himself with the Scottish party; and through them his tenders of loyalty and zeal were conveyed to James, who was hardly seated on the English throne, before he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. In 1604, he farther

not follow; * that upon this a coldness ensued, which kept them at a greater distance than formerly; that yet he continued to give counsel to the Earl, and laboured all he could to serve him with the Queen; that, in respect to his last unfortunate act (which was, in truth, an act of madness) he had no knowledge or notice whatever; that he did no more than he was in duty bound to do for the service of the Queen, in the way of his profession; and that the 'Declaration' was put upon him altered, after he had drawn it, both by the ministers and by the Queen herself." The 'Declaration' itself too (it ought, farther, to be observed) was drawn up with such apparent marks of tenderness for Essex's reputation, that Elizabeth, when Bacon read the paper to her, observed—"Old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten."

* During the latter part of this reign, either from pique or from patriotism he frequently by his speeches in parliament, where he sat as representative for Middlesex, gave umbrage to the ministry. To her Majesty, however, he preserved a steady loyalty; and upon her decease he composed an elegant and able memorial of the happiness of her reign, equally honourable to the author and the subject, which he transmitted to Theanus for the use of his 'History.'

constituted him by patent one of his counsel learned in the law, with a fee of forty pounds *per ann.** He granted him the same day, by another patent, a pension of sixty pounds for additional special services received from his brother and himself. Having now gained a firm footing at court, he made it his next endeavour to recover his lost popularity.

In the preceding reign, the country people had been greatly oppressed by the royal purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. This affair had been laid before the Queen, and some measures had been adopted with a view to redress it; but they had proved ineffectual. The House of Commons, therefore, took the business in hand, in the first session of the first parliament of James; and selected Bacon, as the person most competent to explain to his Majesty their opinion upon this weighty matter. This trust he discharged to the entire satisfaction of both prince and people, and received the thanks of the House in return. Cecil, however, still opposed his advancement; and in this he was supported by Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General, who dreaded the developement of Bacon's professional and political powers. This accounts for his not having obtained the promotion, which he had so ardently expected, till 1607, when upon the elevation of Sir John Doderidge to a higher post, he was appointed Solicitor-General.

From the date of his entering upon this office, he may be considered as a courtier devotedly attached to his royal master; constantly favouring his views

* This is said to have been the first act of royal power of that nature.

in opposition to his own better judgement, and to that spirit of patriotism, which his country had a right to claim from him in the cause of civil liberty.

In breach of the fundamental maxim of nature and nations, that 'no man is bound by laws, to which he has not previously either actually or virtually consented, and that laws so sanctioned cannot be abrogated or altered except by the same consent which made them,' he most unconstitutionally contended, that 'it was an inseparable prerogative of the Crown to dispense with political statutes.' He, likewise, exercised his subtilest rhetoric to reconcile parliaments to impositions by prerogative, which if acquiesced in, would speedily have superseded those assemblies altogether; exasperating the mildness of our limited monarchy into the austerity of a despotism, and corrupting legal government into the capricious cruelties of a tyranny. Unfortunately for this time-serving lawyer, and his assertions (they never could be his opinions) we know the origin of these arbitrary claims, we have sorely felt their progress, and we have witnessed we trust their final and complete extinction at the Revolution: a period, which with the memory of all its patrons and supporters will be ever dear to England, as the epoch of her present liberties, and her consequent civil and religious blessings.

The accomplishment of the foundation of the Charter-House Hospital, begun by Sir Thomas Sutton and continued by his executors, took place while Bacon was Solicitor-General; and in consequence of some discreditable object on his part, that noble institution had to encounter every obstacle, which

so powerful a public functionary could throw in its way.

From Bacon's own letters it appears that James, whenever he had the success of a prosecution (particularly, in criminal and capital cases) deeply at heart, with an interference most unbecoming the majesty of the crown was accustomed to issue his special instructions to his Attorney-General upon the occasion; and that officer, obsequiously obedient to the royal orders, meanly submitted to the drudgery of sounding the opinion of the Judges upon the point of law before it was thought advisable to risk their decision in an open trial, recommended the early sifting of them before they could have opportunities of mutual conference, and even undertook by dark insinuations, with a view of obtaining his concurrence, to practise upon the Chief Justice Coke. To enhance the ignominy of a Sovereign thus insidiously forestalling the judgement of a court, in a case of blood then depending, it must be farther recollected that Judges were at that time removeable at the pleasure of the Crown.

In farther proof of his subserviency to the mandates of his Monarch, who anxiously wished to effect the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland upon a plan extremely detrimental to the former, Sir Francis to his indelible disgrace strained every nerve in the House of Commons in support of the measure: but that assembly was already too well convinced of the arbitrary tendency of his Majesty's views, to adopt the project laid before them.

Baffled once more in his ambitious career, he applied with increased earnestness to the business of his

profession ; appeared frequently in Westminster-Hall, and, from his high reputation as a lawyer, was engaged in most of the principal causes there agitated.

In justice to his character it ought to be remarked, that whenever his advancement at court was out of question, he zealously served the interests of the people. Thus, at a conference held with the Lords, to persuade them to concur with the Commons in an application to the throne for abolishing the ancient tenures under the crown, and for allowing a certain revenue in lieu thereof, Sir Francis (as manager for the latter) set the matter in so clear a light, that it occasioned the dissolution of the Court of Wards, which was justly esteemed an important point carried in favour of the public liberties.

In 1611, he was appointed, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Vasavour, a Judge of the Marshal's-Court. Under this designation he presided, though for a very short time, in the court newly erected under the title of the Palace Court in the verge of the King's house, and has left in his works a learned and methodical charge, which he delivered to the King upon a commission of Oyer and Terminer. He now derived, partly from his estates and partly from his professional emolument, an income of nearly five thousand pounds a year : and although he was even profuse in his mode of living, yet as his public appointments involved no necessary display of official magnificence, he could have little temptation to avail himself of the opportunities of aggrandisement, which the royal favour must have afforded. It was not till the promotion of Sir Henry Hobart to the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, in 1613, that he succeeded to the office of Attorney-General.

In the ensuing session of Parliament, an objection was raised against his retaining his seat among the Commons, as his public function required his frequent attendance in the Upper House; but it was urged without effect. To his high honour, while he held the attorney-generalship, he exerted all his efforts to suppress the horrid custom of duelling; and on an information exhibited in the Star-Chamber,* he delivered so excellent a charge upon that subject, that the Lords of the Council, contrary to their usual practice, ordered it to be published with the decree of the Court upon the cause before them.

His private affairs appear now to have been in a more prosperous situation, than at any ensuing period of his life. His Office brought him in 6000*l.* *per ann.*; he had succeeded to his reversionary appointment of Registrar to the Star-Chamber, and by the death of his elder brother the family-estates had fallen into his possession.

The death of Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and the disgrace of Car Earl of Somerset, removed the two grand obstacles of his farther promotion; and the vigour, with which he prosecuted the latter, joined to a due appreciation of his great abilities, strongly recommended him to Sir George Villiers (afterward Duke of Buckingham) the new favourite. In cultivating a strict friendship with the Duke, however, it appears that he had the service of his country principally at heart; as may be inferred from his Letter of Advice to him (still extant in his works) upon the duties of his high station.

About this time a contest taking place, on a question

* Against Priest and Wright.

of jurisdiction between the two Courts of King's Bench and Chancery, over which Coke and Egerton respectively presided, Bacon appears to have influenced his royal master to pronounce in the Court of Star-Chamber a judgement in favour of the latter.* During the three years indeed, for which he held the attorney-generalship, he conducted himself with such moderation, and discharged it's difficult and intricate duties with so much integrity, that if we except his strenuous support of government in the prosecution of a Mr. St. John for his letter against benevolences, and of a clergyman named Peacham for passages of a sermon never preached, but found in his study, little or nothing stands on record to his reproach.

In 1617, Chancellor Egerton, who had frequently petitioned his Majesty for leave to resign, on account of his age and infirmities, received the indulgence he requested. He had sat in the Court of Chancery twenty-one years, and was regarded as an able lawyer; but, in his official capacity, he bore the character of being an abject tool of administration. Sir Francis Bacon, who had constantly kept this high appointment in view, encountered a powerful competitor in Sir Edward Coke: but he so artfully suggested to his royal master his own ductility, and his influence in the House of Commons, at the same time depreciating his rival as one who had recently upon several occasions shown himself desirous rather to defend the rights of the people than the prerogatives of the crown, that the seals were given to

* See two letters in the Cobala, pp. 30, 31.

him, with the title of Lord Keeper.* Coke was

* A portion of his letter, addressed upon this occasion to his Majesty, is here subjoined:—"I beseech your Majesty, let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow: first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling nature into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a Judge at the upper end of your council-board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent: for though there should be emulation between them yet as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best. He is no statesman, but an economist wholly for himself; so as your Majesty (more than an outward form) will find little help in him for the business. If you take my Lord Canterbury, I will say no more, but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man; and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height, is fit but for a King.

"For myself, I can only present your Majesty with *gloria in obssequio*. Yet I dare promise that, if I sit in that place, your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth: but, when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your Majesty shall only be troubled with the true care of a King, which is to think *what* you would have done in chief, and not *how* for the passages.

"I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the Lower House, I have interest in the gentry of England, and shall be able to do some good effect in rectifying that body of parliament-men, which is *cardo rerum*: for let me tell your Majesty that that part of the Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that same *regnum judiciale* (which, since my father's time, is but too much enlarged) concerneth your Majesty least, more than the acquitting of your conscience for justice; but it is in the other parts, of a moderator among your Councils, of an overseer over your Judges, of a planter of fit Justices and Governors in the country, that comporteth your affairs and these times most. (*Cubala*, pp. 28, 29.)

doomed to retain his new appointment, as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, because he had been remiss in carrying on some severe prosecutions against the subject at the suit of the crown.*

Upon delivering to him the seals, his Majesty is said to have accompanied them with three cautions: 1. That he should not seal any thing, but after mature deliberation; 2. That he should give righteous judgements between parties; and 3. That he should not extend the royal prerogative too far. These precepts he made the ground-work of a long and learned speech, delivered in court on the day upon which he took possession of his high office.

The following year Buckingham, finding Bacon a man after his own heart, obtained for him the dignity of Chancellor,† with the Barony of Verulam,

* At the time of his nomination, Bacon received from the Duke of Buckingham the following humiliating message: 'that he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and, as the times were, fit to serve the King in the Lord Keeper's place; but he also knew him of a base ungrateful disposition and an arrant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruin any who had raised him from adversity; yet for all this he (the Duke) did so much study the interest of his Sovereign, that he had obtained the seals for him, but with this assurance—should he ever requite him as he had done some others, he would cast him down as much below scorn, as he had now raised him high above any honour he could ever have expected.' Bacon patiently endured this message, replying, "I am glad my noble Lord deals so friendly and freely with me; but can he know these abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the highest preferment my profession is capable of, I shall so much fail in my judgement and understanding as to lose those abilities, and by my miscarriage to so noble a patron cast myself headlong from the top of that honour to the very bottom of contempt and scorn? Surely, my Lord cannot think so meanly of me."

† During his possession of the Chancellorship, he procured

by which title he is chiefly distinguished in the learned world: to his higher distinction as Viscount St. Alban's, he was advanced in 1620.

A few days after the appointment of Bacon to the Lord Keepership, his Majesty set out for Scotland; and Sir Francis, as the head of the Council in virtue of his office, had the chief management of public affairs. This happened at the critical juncture, when the proposition for a treaty of marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and an Infanta of Spain was brought into discussion. Bacon, who foresaw the difficulties and inconveniences which might attend this measure, strongly remonstrated against it; but James with his usual pride and pertinacity, against every principle of sound policy, persisted in his project, till the match was abruptly broken off by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham in Spain.

During the King's absence, the Lord Keeper is said to have assumed all the 'pomp and circumstance' of royalty: he took possession of his Majesty's lodgings, gave audience in the Great Banqueting-House, conducted himself with the utmost arrogance toward his brother-councillors, and would not vouchsafe to open or read in public the letters even of Villiers

from the King the farm of the Alienation Office, which was of considerable benefit to him, and eventually proved a great part of his subsistence, after he had lost his office. He, likewise, obtained for his residence a grant of York House, for which he seems to have retained a strong affection as the place of his birth, and his father's habitation as Lord Keeper. He appears, indeed, occasionally to have checked the rapacity of Buckingham, by refusing to confirm grants which he recommended; but in numerous instances he did not scruple to affix the great seal to patents, evidently intended as instruments of extortion.

himself, though stated to require despatch, or return him any answer. When he heard however that James was on his return, he 're-invested himself with his old rags of baseness,' attended two days in Buckingham's ante-chamber, sitting upon a wooden chest with his purse and seal lying by him, and on the Duke's entrance fell prostrate before him, kissed his feet, and vowed 'never to rise till he had his pardon.' The reconciliation which ensued was purchased by such concessions on the part of Bacon, that he was ever afterward a slave to the favourite and his family.

Another affair likewise occurred at this period, by which, though of a private nature, the Lord Keeper was deeply disturbed. Winwood, one of the Secretaries of State, having Coke's interest at heart and wishing to bring him into favour in opposition to Bacon, prevailed upon the Chief Justice to give his daughter in marriage with an immense fortune to Sir John Villiers, Buckingham's brother, though he had previously rejected the alliance with marks of disrespect. Bacon, apprehensive that his influence would be considerably lessened, if Coke were introduced into the Council, with a view of preventing the match went so far as to incur the displeasure both of the King and of his minister: but their resentment appears to have been only of short continuance,* as not long afterward he was elevated to the peerage.†

* Bacon, indeed, is said upon this occasion, in direct opposition to his former opinion, to have offered, unasked, his interest with the young lady's mother for promoting the union, which he had previously used all his ingenuity to obstruct.

† Both upon his appointment as Lord Keeper, and his creation

Though ambition, however, had a large share in the character of Lord Verulam, philosophy was evidently his ruling passion; for, amidst all the variety and intricacy of his employments as a lawyer and a statesman, he found time to compose and to publish, in 1620, the most important of all his philosophical tracts, the '*Novum Organum Scientiarum*.'† This piece, properly a

as Viscount St. Alban's, Bacon displayed an unworthy passion for pageantry and parade. In the first instance, in a solemn procession to Westminster Hall, he rode on horseback in a gown of purple satin between the Lord High Treasurer and the Lord Privy Seal; and, in the latter, he had a Marquis to bear his train!

† Of this work he sent one copy to his Majesty, and three to Sir Henry Wotton, a gentleman of the first reputation at that time in the learned world. Subjoined are the letters written by them to the author in reply:

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"I have received your letter, and your book, than the which you could not have sent a more acceptable present unto me. How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm resolution I have taken: first, to read it through with care and attention, though I should steal some hours from my sleep, having otherwise as little spare time to read it, as you had to write it; and then to use the liberty of a true friend, in not sparing to ask you the question in any point whereof I shall stand in doubt: as, on the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to such places as, in my opinion, shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can with comfort assure you, that you could not have made choice of a subject more befitting your place, and your universal and methodical knowledge: and, in the general, I have already observed that you jump with me, in keeping the midway between the two extremes; as also, in some particulars, I have found that you agree fully with my opinion. And

second part of his 'Grand Instauration of the

so praying God to give your work as good success as your heart can wish, and your labours deserve, I bid you farewell.

Oct. 16, 1620.

"JAMES R."

—"Your Lordship hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the children of Nature, and to Nature herself in her uttermost extent of latitude, who never before had so noble nor so true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to stile your Lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet. But of your said work, which came but this week to my hands, I shall find occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only the first book thereof, and a few aphorisms of the second. For it is not a banquet, that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their pockets; but in truth a solid feast, which requireth due mastication. Therefore, when I have once myself perused the whole, I determine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domestic college, as an ancient author: for I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extremely mistaken in the computation of antiquity by searching it backward, because indeed the first times were the youngest, especially in points of natural discovery and experience. For though I grant that Adam knew the natures of all beasts, and Solomon of all plants, not only more than any, but more than all since their time, yet that was by divine infusion: and therefore they did not need any such *Organum*, as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world; nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their wisdom. But I am gone farther than I meant in speaking of this excellent labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordship's studies, will scant let me cease: and indeed I owe your Lordship, even by promise (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me) some trouble this way; I mean, by the commerce of philosophical experiments, which surely of all other is the most ingenious traffic. Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the Danuby, though more remarkable for the application than for the theory. I lay a night at Lintz, the metropolis of the Higher Austria; but then in very low estate, having been newly taken by the Duke of Bavaria;

Sciences,* is calculated to promote a more perfect

who, *blandiente fortunâ*, was gone on to the late effects. There I found Kepler a man famous in the sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your books, that he may see we have some of our own that can honour our King, as well as he hath done with his 'Harmonica.' In this man's study I was much taken with the draught of a landscape on a piece of paper, methought masterly done: whereof inquiring the author, he bewrayed with a smile it was himself; adding, 'he had done it, *non tanquam Pictor, sed tanquam Mathematicus.*' This set me on fire: at last, he told me how. He hath a little black tent (of what stuff, is not much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a field, and it is convertible like a wind-mill to all quarters at pleasure, capable of not much more than one man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole about an inch and an half in the diameter, to which he applies a long perspective trunk, with the convex-glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without are intromitted, falling upon a paper which is accommodated to receive them; and so he traceth them with his pen in their natural appearance, turning his little tent round by degrees, till he hath designed the whole aspect of the field. This I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it for chorography: for otherwise, to make landscapes by it were illiberal; though surely no painter can do them so precisely, &c. &c.

"Your Lordship's, &c.

"H. WOTTON."

* This great work he distributed into six principal parts:

1. The Advancement of Learning, in which he takes a view of the several objects and branches of general learning, classing them according to the three faculties of the soul—Memory, Fancy, and Understanding:

2. The *Novum Organum* (in every point of view, it's most considerable portion) which destroys the very foundation of the Aristotelian philosophy, or verbal syllogism, establishing in it's

discipline of our rational faculties than that before taught in the schools, by exercising them in contemplating the works of nature and art, subjects far transcending those abstruse scholastic subtilties, which serve only to involve learned men in frivolous disputations.

Having discovered, observes Granger, the emptiness of the visionary schemes of philosophy, which for so many ages had amused mankind, he introduced the sure method of coming to truth by experiment. He seemed, indeed, to want only the leisure which Sir Isaac Newton enjoyed, and his knowledge in geometry, to have made as surprising discoveries as that great man did. He had, however,

place the method of induction, as the only true path to the temple of Science:

3. The *Sylva Sylvarum*, furnishing materials for the operation of the 'New Organ' in the History, I. of Generations, or natural productions; II. of Pretergenerations, or births deviating from the stated rule; and, III. of Nature as confined or assisted, changed or tortured, by the art of man:

4. The *Scala Intellectûs*, or series of steps, by which the Understanding might regularly ascend in it's philosophical inquiries:

5. The *Anticipationes Philosophiæ Secundæ*, designed to contain philosophical hints and suggestions, of which however the title and the scheme alone remain; and

6. A Finale, intended to exhibit the entire fabric in all it's grandeur, comprehending the universal principles of knowledge deduced from experiment and observation.

The rudiments of this unrivalled work, which merely to have conceived at the age of twenty-six almost merits immortality, is supposed by Mallet still to exist, under the title 'Of the Interpretation of Nature;' and thus we have the advantage of tracing the steps, by which he advanced from one discovery to another, till his system attained a vastness adapted to astonish and enlighten all succeeding generations.

the glory of being the first adventurer to the new world of science, and discovering such mines of knowledge as will never be exhausted.

Bacon had now attained the full gratification of his wishes. He had triumphed over his competitors at court, and he was the subject of general admiration in the learned world: but, alas! how short-lived is human greatness! The very next year, James was compelled to call a parliament; and, as the nation was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct both of Buckingham and of the Chancellor, the House of Commons instituted a strict examination into their conduct.* His Majesty, by his want of money, was prevented from dissolving them: in order therefore to divert their resentment from his favourite, the monopolies and illegal patents were cancelled and recalled by proclamation, and secret countenance was given to the prosecution of the Chancellor. In the course of their investigations, the Committee appointed by the Commons to inquire into the abuses in the Courts of Justice reported, that two charges of corruption had been proved against him. Farther scrutiny produced stronger circumstances, and the complaint was sent up to the House of Lords.† Upon this the Chan-

* For this rigour they might plead the royal injunction. When they set about inquiring into the abuses of licences and patents, as well as those which existed in the law-courts of the realm, his Majesty said in the hearing of the whole house, "Spare none, whom you can find just cause to punish." (*Hacket's 'Life of Abp. Williams,'* p. 49.)

† The Committee, reporting March 15, 1620, pronounce him 'a man so endued with all parts both of nature and art, as that they will say no more of him, being not able to say enough;' and affirm that, in one of the two cases before them (that of Awbrey) a suit was actually depending before him, when he

cellor, who was at that time indisposed, transmitted through the Duke of Buckingham a letter, requesting their Lordships, 1. To maintain him in their good opinion, till his cause was heard; 2. To give him a convenient time, as well in regard of his state of ill-health, as of the importance of the charge, to make his defence; 3. To allow him to except against the credit of the witnesses, to cross-examine them, and to produce evidence in his own favour; and, 4. If there came any more petitions of the like nature, not to take prejudice at their number, considering that

received the hardly-raised sum of 100*l.*, though he afterward made 'a very prejudicial and murthering order' against that suitor; and that in Egerton's case likewise, upon which he took 400*l.*, a suit was depending in the Court of Star-Chamber. Lord Bacon having told Sir George Hastings, one of the evidences against him, that 'he meant to deny the charge upon his honour,' Mr. Nevil one of the members of the Lower House said; "I would not have that serve his turn, for he himself hath made the nobility swear in Chancery: therefore I would have their Lordships informed, what privileges they have lost. Next, I would have them note the luxuriant authority of that Court, and how it is an inextricable labyrinth, wherein resideth such a Minotaur as gormandiseth the liberty of all subjects whatsoever." A more striking case subsequently transpired, of the Lady Wharton. She carried to the Chancellor at York House 100*l.* in a purse 'of her own making;' upon which he said, "What Lord could refuse a purse of so fair a lady's working?" After this, he made a decree for her; but it was not perfected, till after a second donation of 200*l.* This not being immediately in her power, 'one Shute dealt with her to pass over the land to my Lord Chancellor and his heirs, reserving an estate for life to herself; with power of revocation (as, upon her demurring, it was suggested) upon payment of 200*l.* in a reasonable time.' Other cases, also, were rapidly brought forward, (on the authorities of Keeling and Churchill) of Hull and Holman, Wroth and Mannering, Hoddy, Peacock, and Reynell, Barker and Bill, Smithwick and Walsh, &c.

they were against a Judge, who made two thousand orders and decrees in a year. To this application the House returned a respectful answer; but, within a few days, their committee adduced above twenty additional instances, in which he had received bribes to the amount of several thousand pounds.* Of all this the proofs were so clear, that the illustrious culprit (with his accustomed eloquence, however) threw himself upon their mercy, entreating at the same time, that ‘his sentence might not be extended beyond his dismissal from the public office which he had disgraced:’ but, as this did not appear to their Lordships sufficiently explicit, in a second full and particular confession† he acknowledged, under cer-

* How then can Mr. Chalmers discountenance the complaint, or justify the treatment of Mr. Wraynham, alluded to p. 461, Note *.

† This confession he is said to have made, trusting to some royal promises, at the instigation of the ministry, who wished to protect the Duke of Buckingham from parliamentary vengeance; and a story, told by his Lordship’s servant Bushel, of James’ engaging to screen or to reward him, is quoted as authority for the report. But Bushel, in a speech of his master’s (published by him in the Fleet Prison, and allowed to be in a great measure fictitious) relates so many improbable stories, that his evidence requires the support of additional testimony; and, in this instance, his account is invalidated by his Majesty’s general instructions to parliament to pursue their inquiry without restraint, coupled with his temporary prorogation of that assembly, “to try if time could mitigate the displeasure, which in both houses was strong against the Lord Chancellor:” with which may be combined the admission of Bacon himself, who on surrendering the Great Seal voluntarily acknowledged, that what the King had given, his own misconduct had taken away: ‘*Rex dedit, culpa abstulit.*’

It would not be difficult, from many considerations, to convict this confession (which, however, some have professed to admire as magnanimous) of gross disingenuousness and indecency.

tain extenuations, most of the instances of corruption laid to his charge. As it is a striking document, it is here inserted.

The humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon to the House of Lords.

‘ May it please your Lordships.

‘ I shall humbly crave at your hands a benign in-

His sole object in making it was to operate upon their Lordships’ passions, and to interest their sensibility in his behalf, while he was insulting and endeavouring to impose upon their understandings: and as to the crimes laid to his charge, he had the audacity, by observing that bribery was *vitiū ‘temporis,’* to attempt to justify his malversations on the plea of fashion! There is indeed but too much reason to believe that, in lamenting the ambition and false glory, which had diverted him from his literary and philosophical pursuits, he was influenced less by the conviction of his judgement than by the weight of his mortifications. He had even consulted Selden, it appears, as to the legality of the judgement pronounced against him by the House of Peers, for want of the form of a Session of that Parliament in which it was passed and given. This, at least, seems probable from a letter of that profound lawyer, dated February 14, 1621, in reply; in which he observes, that “ admitting it were no Session, but only ‘ a Convention ’ (as the proclamation calls it) yet the judgements given in the Upper House, if no other reason be against them, are good—as given by virtue of that ordinary authority, which they have as the Supreme Court of Judicature, which is easily to be conceived without any relation to the matter of session; that consisting only in the passing of acts with the Royal Assent, or not passing them, &c.” This distinction between their Lordships’ legislative and judicial capacity appears to have satisfied the noble delinquent, as we hear of no subsequent attempt to reverse the judgement in question. Are we from this to infer, that the Speaker of that illustrious House was really so little versed in the original and extent of it’s jurisdiction; or ought we not rather to suppose, that he was inclined to ridicule and expose the simplicity of his brother-peers?

terpretation of that, which I shall now write: for words, that come from wasted spirits and oppressed minds, are more safe in being deposited to a noble construction, than being circled with any reserved caution.

‘ This being moved (and, as I hope, obtained of your Lordships) as a protection to all that I shall say, I shall go on; but with a very strange entrance, as may seem to your Lordships, at first: for, in the midst of a state of as great affliction as, I think, a mortal man can endure (honour being above life) I shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things.

‘ The first is, That hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work.

‘ The next, That, after this example, it is like that judges will fly from any thing in the likeness of corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a serpent; which tends to the purging of Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their honour and splendor. And in these two points (God is my witness) though it be my fortune to be the anvil, upon which these two effects are broken and wrought, I take no small comfort. But to pass from the motions of my heart (whereof God is my judge) to the merits of my cause, whereof your Lordships are judges under God and his Lieutenant: I do understand, there hath been heretofore expected from me some justification; and therefore I have chosen one only justification, instead of all others, out of the justification of Job. For after the clear submission and confession, which I shall now make

unto your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justify with Job, in these words: "I have not hid my sin, as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom." This is the only justification, which I will use.

' It resteth therefore, that without fig-leaves I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory; I find matter sufficient and full both to move me to desert my defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling these particulars, which I think might fall off. *Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, or the scruple touching the credits of the witnesses. Neither will I represent to your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time and manner of the guilt, or the like circumstances; but only leave these things to spring out of your more noble thoughts and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put into your mind, and so submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.

' And now I have spoken to your Lordships as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending my cause to your noble minds and magnanimous affections.

' Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but Parliamentary Judges: you have a farther extent of arbitrary power than other courts; and if you be not tied by ordinary course of courts, or precedents, in

points of strictness and severity, much less in points of mercy and mitigation. And yet if any thing, which I shall move, might be contrary to your honourable and worthy end (the introducing of a reformation) I should not seek it. But herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a story.

‘ Titus Manlius took his son’s life, for giving battle against the prohibition of his General. Not many years afterward, the like severity was pursued by Papyrius Cursor, the Dictator, against Quintus Maximus; who, being upon the point to be sentenced, was by the intercession of some particular persons of the senate spared: whereupon Livy maketh this grave and gracious observation, *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlii*; ‘ the discipline of war was no less established by the questioning of Quintus Maximus, than by the punishment of Titus Manlius.’ And the same reason is in the reformation of justice; for the questioning of men in eminent places hath the same terror, though not the same rigour, with the punishment. But my cause standeth not there: for my humble desire is, that his Majesty would take the seal into his hands; which is a great downfall, and may serve, I hope, in itself for an expiation of my faults.

‘ Therefore, if mercy and mitigation be in your Lordships’ power, and no way cross your ends, why should I not hope of your favour and commiseration? Your Lordships will be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness: and your Lordships will remember, there sate not these hundred years before a

Prince in your House, and never such a Prince, whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and justice. Yourselves are either Nobles (and compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood) or Reverend Prelates, who are the servants of Him, that *would not break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax*. You all sit upon a high stage, and therefore cannot but be sensible of the change of human conditions, and of the fall of any from high place.

‘Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*; and the beginning of reformation hath the contrary power to the pool of Bethesda: for that had strength to cure him only that was first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him only that is first cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no farther.

‘Lastly, I assure myself, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body, and one that in this very session had some taste of your very loving affections; which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace, which now in the conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, the loss of my seal my punishment, and that your Lordships would recommend me to his Majesty’s grace and pardon for all that is past. God’s Holy Spirit be among you.’

A committee of Peers now waited upon him to demand, ‘whether it were his own hand, that was subscribed to the same:’ to whom he replied, “My

Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart, I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed."

Notwithstanding these abject and humiliating admissions, however, he was sentenced to pay a mulct of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the commonwealth; and never to sit again in parliament, or to come within the verge of the court.*

That so heavy a punishment should have been incurred by a man, whose talents have commanded the admiration of the world, must ever be regretted; but there is no evidence to prove, that the rigour of his sentence exceeded the strict limits of justice. He might not, perhaps, have been guilty of any flagrant infringement of equity in many of his judicial decrees; it is even possible, that his decisions might have been made against the very persons, who had bribed him: but this, as Aikin justly observes, is not the natural operation of a bribe upon minds mean enough to accept one: and at any rate those who bestowed it without effect, seem to have some grounds of complaint. Neither is it any ¹tenuation of his crime, that it was stimulated by

* Upon his fall he wrote a letter to Prince Charles, soliciting his Royal Highness' intercession with his Majesty, in which he introduced the following profane expression; "I hope, as your father was my Creator, that you his son will become my Redeemer." But this is not a solitary instance of his abuse of scriptural allusion. In his *History of Henry VII.*, speaking of Sir William Stanley's placing the crown on the head of that prince, then Earl of Richmond, after the memorable action of Bosworth Field, he says: "The condition of mortal man is not capable of greater benefit, than the King received by the hands of Stanley, being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown."

the false ambition of supporting his official splendor, not by the baser goadings of avarice, or the more venial cravings of family provision; or that it was, in many instances, incurred by his blind indulgence of his servants.* Of this latter cause however, after it

* Rushworth affirms, that "the gifts taken were, for the most part, for interlocutory orders." That this is not correctly true, may perhaps safely be conjectured from the unwarrantable expression of Lord Clifford, who wished 'he had stabbed the Lord-Keeper;' a wish, hardly to be accounted for without the supposition of some signal injury. But the matter is placed beyond conjecture by the item in the black bead-roll of extortion, acknowledged by Lord Bacon on the proceedings before the House of Lords, respecting the able and unhappy Wraynham or Wrayng-ham; in whose case this President of a Court of Equity confessed, that 'upon his removing to York House he had received a suit of hangings to the value of 160*l.* and upward, which Sir Edward Fisher (Wraynham's adversary) gave him, by advice of Mr. Chute, toward furnishing his house. For complaining of this injustice in a petition to the King, that oppressed gentleman was prosecuted in the horrid Court of Star-Chamber, was fined and imprisoned (even unto death) instead of being relieved, and had the still heavier misery of seeing his family reduced from affluence to beggary. What the Lords, on their proceedings against Wraynham in the Star-Chamber 'for charging Lord Chancellor Bacon with injustice,' considered a libel and a slander, the Lords on their proceedings in parliament against the same Lord Chancellor, upon an impeachment 'for bribery and corruption in the execution of his high office,' considered a well-founded complaint and true in every particular! All this Bacon knew: he knew Wraynham innocent and injured, himself guilty, and the Lords abused and misled; and yet he suffered him and his family to sink under calamities, from which after the long lapse of nearly two centuries they are but just under the providence of God beginning slowly to emerge. See State-Trials, VII. 102. The sentence pronounced against Mr. Wraynham is to be found in Popham's Reports, p. 135. Mr. Chalmers' short statement, in which he calls the injured party 'Wrenham,' does not appear to be drawn up with his accustomed candour and accuracy.

was too late, he became so sensible that when upon passing, during his prosecution, through a room where they were sitting, they all stood up, he said, "Sit down, my masters; your rise hath been my fall." *

The King, however, quickly released him from the Tower, made a grant of his fine to some trustees for his benefit, and settled upon him a pension of 1800*l.* *per ann.* But, as he applied the greatest part of his income to the payment of debts† contracted while he was in office, his expenses in procuring materials for experiments in natural philosophy compelled him to make such applications to James, as prove at once his consummate address and his perfect knowledge of that prince's disposition.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King.

—'For now it is thus with me; I am a year and a half old in misery, though (I must ever acknowledge) not without some mixture of your Majesty's grace and mercy. For I do not think it possible, that any you once loved should be totally miserable. My own

* While he sat abstracted at the upper end of the table, they are said to have cheated him at the lower.

What arms, asks one of his biographers, could suit him better than his own! Part of them are mullets, or stars: and "falling stars (says Guillim) are the emblem of the inconstancy of fortune, and unsure footing of ambitious aspirers, which may shine for a time; but in a moment fall headlong from the heaven of their hopes, and from the height of their honours, by the strokes of justice and by their own demerits."

† Yet, though about this time he discharged encumbrances to the amount of 8000*l.*, he died nearly thrice that sum in debt. Such indeed, even after his fall, was his insuppressible passion for the parade of equipage, that Prince Charles observed one day (on seeing his retinue) "Well, do what we can, this man seems to go out like a snuff."

means, through mine own improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my father left me. The poor things, which I have had from your Majesty, are either in question, or at courtesy. My dignities remain marks of your past favour, but yet burthens withal of my present fortune. The poor remnants which I had of my former fortunes, in plate or jewels, I have spread upon poor men, unto whom I owed, scarce leaving myself bread. So as, to conclude, I must pour out my misery before your Majesty, so far as to say; *Si deseris tu, perimus.*

‘ But as I can offer to your Majesty’s compassion little arising from myself to move you, except it be my extreme misery, which I have truly laid open; so looking up to your Majesty yourself, I should think I committed Cain’s fault, if I should despair. Your Majesty is a King, whose heart is as inscrutable for secret motions of goodness, as for depth of wisdom. You are, Creator-like, factive, and not destructive: you are a prince, in whom I have ever noted ~~an~~ an aversion against any thing that savoured of a hard heart: as, on the other side, your princely eye was wont to meet with any motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore, as one that hath had the happiness to know your Majesty near hand, I have (most gracious Sovereign) faith enough for a miracle, much more for a grace that your Majesty will not suffer your poor creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that name quite out of your book, upon which your sacred hand hath been so oft for new ornaments and additions. Unto this degree of compassion, I hope, God above (of whose mercy toward me, both in my prosperity and adversity, I have had great testimonies and pledges, though

mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulness might have averted them) will dispose your princely heart, already prepared to all piety. And why should I not think, but that thrice noble prince, who would have pulled me out of the fire of a sentence, will help to pull me (if I may use that homely phrase) out of the mire of an abject and sordid condition in my last days? And that excellent favourite of yours (the goodness of whose nature contendeth with the greatness of his fortune, and who counteth it a prize, a second prize to be a good friend, after that prize which he carrieth to be a good servant) will kiss your hands with joy, for any work of piety you shall do for me? And as all commiserating persons (specially such, as find their hearts void of malice) are apt to think, that all men pity them, I assure myself that the Lords of the Council (who, out of their wisdom and nobleness, cannot but be sensible of human events) will, in this way which I go for the relief of my estate, further and advance your Majesty's goodness toward me. For there is a kind of fraternity between great men that are, and those that have been, being but the several tenses of one verb. Nay, I do farther presume, that both Houses of Parliament will love their justice the better, if it end not in my ruin. For I have been often told by many of my Lords (as it were, in excusing the severity of the sentence) that 'they knew, they left me in good hands.' And your Majesty knoweth well, I have been all my life long acceptable to those assemblies, not by flattery but by moderation, and by honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But (if I may please your Majesty) for Saints, I shall give them reverence, but no adoration. My

address is to your Majesty, the fountain of goodness : your Majesty shall, by the grace of God, not feel that in gift, which I shall extremely feel in help : for my desires are moderate, and my courses measured to a life orderly and reserved ; hoping still to do your Majesty honour in my way. Only I most humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to conclude with those words, which necessity speaketh : Help me, dear Sovereign Lord and Master ; and pity me so far, as I, that have borne a bag, be not now in my age forced in effect to bear a wallet ; nor I, that desire to live to study, may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave pardon of a long letter, after a long silence. God of heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your Majesty !

Your Majesty's poor ancient Servant and Beadsman,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

He appears indeed, in some measure, to have regained his Sovereign's favour, and on the prorogation of parliament was consulted as to the proper methods of reforming the Courts of Justice, and taking away other public grievances, upon which he drew up a memorial still extant in his works. By additional marks, likewise, of royal indulgence he was so much soothed, amidst the anguish of a wounded character, that he resumed his studies with his accustomed ardor ; * and, in the spring of 1622, published

* "In his humiliated state," says Dr. Aikin, "he found some comfort in comparing his condition with that of three great men of antiquity—Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca—all of whom, after occupying high stations in their respective countries, had fallen into delinquency and been banished into retirement, where

his 'History of Henry VII.' On the meeting of the new parliament, also, he drew up 'Considerations of a War with Spain;' and furnished 'Heads of a Speech' for his friend Sir Edward Sackville upon the same subject. These services were so well received, that upon an application to his Majesty for a full remission of his sentence, he easily obtained it.* In

they consoled themselves with letters and philosophy. These examples (as he himself declares) confirmed him in the resolution, to which he was otherwise inclined, of devoting the remainder of his time wholly to writing: and he might have adopted the language, in which Cicero addresses philosophy; *Ad te confugimus, à te opem petimus, tibi nos, ut antea magnâ ex parte, sic nunc penitus totosque tradimus.*"

That with so many grounds of mortification, external and internal, he should have been led occasionally to practise the virtue of humility, cannot excite surprise. It was a noble reply, which he made to the French ambassador, on being compared by him for his Essays to an angel; "If the politeness of others compare me to an angel, my own infirmities remind me that I am a man."

His love of science was not less strikingly marked by the calmness, with which he received from one of his friends an account of the failure of an application made by him for an important favour to court. "Be it so," said he; then turning to his chaplain, to whom he was at that moment dictating a statement of some experiments in natural philosophy, he added "if that business will not succeed, let us go on with this, which is in our power;" and continued the subject without any hesitation of speech, or apparent alienation of thought.

* In the warrant directed for that purpose to the Attorney-General, his Majesty observed, that 'his Lordship had already satisfied justice by his sufferings; and himself being always inclined to temper justice with mercy, and likewise calling to remembrance his former good services, and how well and profitably he had spent his time since his troubles, he was graciously pleased to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remained upon him, of incapacity and disablement, and to remit to him all penalties whatsoever inflicted by that sentence.'

consequence of this pardon, his Lordship was summoned to the second parliament of Charles I; but his infirmities prevented him from taking his seat. Foreseeing now that his end was approaching, he committed by his will several of his Latin and philosophical compositions to Sir William Boswell, his Majesty's agent in Holland (where they were, subsequently, published by Gruter) and his Orations and Letters to Sir Humphrey May Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Williams Bishop of Lincoln, who succeeded to the possession of the Great Seal; injoining them, at the same time, not to be divulged, as "touching too much on persons and matters of state." Through this judicious disposition of his papers, the greater part of them have, at different times, been given to the world.

By the severe winter, which followed the infectious summer of 1625, he was exceedingly reduced: but the spring reviving his spirits, he made a little excursion into the country, in order to try some experiments in natural philosophy, and being suddenly taken ill, after a week's indisposition, expired April 9, 1626.*

By his lady, the wealthy daughter of Alderman Barnham of London, whom he married when about the age of forty, he left no issue.

* It is to be regretted, that no memorial remains of his last hours, except a letter addressed by himself to the Earl of Arundel, under whose roof at Highgate he died. In this, he compares himself to the elder Pliny, who lost his life by approaching too near Mount Vesuvius during an eruption: and hence, perhaps, it may be fairly concluded (as suggested in the text) that he felt conscious of having exposed himself to some noxious effluvia, in the course of his preceding experiments.

Thus did he at last owe his death to an excess not unbecoming a philosopher, in pursuing, with more application than his strength could bear, some inquiries concerning the conservation of bodies. His remains were privately interred in St. Michael's Church, near St. Alban's; and the spot which held them remained undistinguished, till a monument was erected to his memory by Sir Thomas Meautys, who had formerly been in his service, and afterward by descent succeeded to the possession of a considerable estate. In another country, in a better age (says Mr. Mallet) his monument would have stood a public proof in what veneration the whole society held a citizen, whose genius did them honour, and whose writings will instruct their latest posterity. Verses indeed, in various languages, were written to his honour by the most eminent scholars of the University of Cambridge; but his most honourable memorial is to be found in his own immortal compositions.

It was the misfortune of Bacon to be cursed with false ambition, ever restlessly over-heating itself in the pursuit of honours which the Crown alone can bestow. This stimulated to base compliances a heart, naturally formed for great and noble ends, and betrayed him into measures full as mean as avarice itself. This degraded his lofty faculties, contracted his views into the little point of self-interest, and steeled his feelings alike against the rebukes of conscience and the sense of true honour. The only thing, says Brucér, to be regretted in his writings is, that he has increased the difficulties necessarily attending his original and profound researches by too freely making use of new terms, and by loading his arrangement with an excessive

multiplicity and minuteness of divisions. But an attentive and accurate reader, already somewhat acquainted with philosophical subjects, will meet with no insuperable difficulties in studying his works ; and, unless he be a wonderful proficient in science, will reap much benefit as well as pleasure from the perusal. He is to be ranked, in fine, in the first class of modern philosophers ; having unquestionably belonged to that superior order of men who by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge have been benefactors to mankind, and truly deserving to be stiled, on account of the new track of science which he followed, ‘ The Columbus of the philosophical world.’

As another cause of his errors, it may be remarked that his application to his studies prevented his attention to the necessary rules for the common conduct of life. The effect of this, coupled with his suspicious connivances at his servants, was a fatal want of regularity in his domestic arrangements. As to money, like many other eminent philosophers, he *disdained* to study it's value, and therefore he despised it. I will not even name another crime imputed to him by his contemporary Sir Simon D'Ewes,* though apparently sustained by some of the above-stated parts of his conduct. Suffice it, that posterity seem to have accepted the bequest, contained in a singular passage of his last will : “ For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ‘ages;” his offences being only slightly recorded out of deference to his-

* See Hearne's ‘ *Historia Vitæ et Rēgni Ricardi II., Angliæ Regis, à Monacho quodam de F'vesham consignata,*’ p. 385.

torical truth, while the most ample tribute is universally paid to his talents and acquirements.

Of his philosophical labours, next to his Essays appeared his Treatise, 'On the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human,' published in 1605. Of this the object was, to give a summary account of the stock of knowledge, which mankind then possessed; to lay down this knowledge under such natural branches, or scientific divisions, as might most commodiously admit of it's farther improvement; to point out it's deficiencies, or desiderata; and, lastly, to show through examples the direct ways, by which these deficiencies are to be supplied. After his retirement from public business, he considerably enlarged and corrected the original; and, with the assistance of some friends, translated the whole into Latin. This is the edition of 1623, and is properly the first part of his 'Grand Instauration of the Sciences.*'

In 1607, he sent a Latin treatise entitled '*Cogitata et Visa*,' to his friend Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Ely, desiring his opinion of it: the same method, likewise, he adopted with Sir Thomas Bodley.† The motive of his cautious procedure in both cases was, that this treatise contained the plan of his '*Novum Organum*,' which he was most anxious to transmit to posterity in the highest attainable perfection.

* See p. 450, Note *.

† In his works is preserved a small discourse in English, under the Latin title of '*Iterum Labyriathi*,' containing the original draught of his '*Cogitata et Visa*.' Such is said to have been the anxiety of the illustrious writer upon this subject, that he revised and altered twelve copies, before he brought it to the state in which it was finally published. Bodley's answer is highly honorable to him.

In 1610, he printed a learned tract in Latin * entitled, '*De Sapientiâ Veterum*,' On the Wisdom of the Ancients. Of this work it may safely be pronounced that few books, in any age or other nation, have deserved or received more general applause, and scarcely any are likely to retain it longer. To the admirers of antiquity it was most acceptable, and indeed it appeared expressly calculated to justify their admiration: their opponents, on the other hand, were no less delighted with a piece proving, in their judgement most demonstratively, that the sagacity of a modern genius had found out better meanings for the ancients than had ever been meant by themselves. In his introduction, he gives an ample and satisfactory account of the reasons which induced him to believe, that notwithstanding the seeming absurdities of ancient fable, there was however something at the bottom, which deserved to be explored. These observations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes as follows:

"But the argument of most weight with me is ~~this~~; that many of these fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons who relate and divulge them, Homer, Hesiod, and others: for, if I were assured they first flowed from those latter times and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect any thing singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing will find, that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages. Besides, as they are

* It was translated by Sir Arthur Gorges.

differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, it is easily perceived, that the relaters drew from the common stock of ancient tradition, and varied but in the point of embellishment, which is their own: and this, principally, raises my esteem of these fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or the invention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers and the breath of better times, which from the traditions of more ancient nations came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious or imposed upon the ancient fables, and no way native or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of judgement which he affects, though we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatic; and, if it were worth the trouble, proceed to another kind of argument.

“Men have proposed to answer two different, and contrary, ends by the use of parable; for parables serve as well to instruct and illustrate, as to wrap up and envelop: so that, though for the present we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague undeterminate things formed for amusement, still the other use must remain and can never be given up: and every man of any learning must readily allow, that this method of instructing is grave, sober, and exceedingly useful and sometimes even necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding in all new discoveries, which are abstruse and are out of the road of vulgar opinions.

“Hence in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of human reason as are not trite and com-

mon were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, similies, comparisons, and allusions, which were not intended to conceal but to inform and teach; while the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty and speculation, or even impatient, or in a manner incapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the senses. For, as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments; and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion.

“To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy: great, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; happy, if while they had other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations. Let either be the case, our pains perhaps will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity or the things themselves. The like, indeed, has been attempted by others: but, to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labours have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy, and the grace of the thing; while, unskilled in nature, and with a degree of learning no greater than that of common-place, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth.

“For myself, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things; because, leaving untouched

such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich."

On considering attentively, says D'Alembert, the sound, intelligent, and extensive views of this illustrious man, the multiplicity of objects his piercing wit had comprehended within it's sphere, and the elevation of his stile every where combining the boldest images with the most rigorous precision, we should be tempted to esteem him the greatest, the most universal, and the most eloquent of philosophers. His works are justly valued, perhaps more valued than known, and therefore more deserving of our study than our eulogiums. Born amidst the obscurity of the most profound night, he perceived that philosophy did not yet exist, though many had undoubtedly flattered themselves that they excelled in it: for every age, in proportion to it's ignorance, believes itself informed of every thing.

He began by taking a general view of the various objects of all natural sciences; he divided those sciences into different branches, of which he had made the most exact enumeration; he examined into what was already known as to each of those objects, and he drew up an immense catalogue of what remained to be discovered. This was the aim and subject of his admirable work, on the dignity and augmentation of natural knowledge. In his 'New Organ of Sciences,' he perfects the views which he had pointed out in the first work; he carries them farther, and shows the necessity of experimental physics, which was not yet thought of. An enemy to systems, he beholds philosophy as only that part of our knowledge, which ought to contribute to make us

better or more happy. He seems to limit it to the science of useful things, and every where recommends the study of nature. His other writings are formed on the same plan. Every thing in them, even to their titles, is expressive of the man of genius, of the mind that sees in the great. He there collects facts; he there compares experiments, and indicates a great number to be made. He invites the learned to study and perfect the arts, which he deems the most illustrious and most essential part of human knowledge. He exposes, with a noble simplicity, his conjectures and thoughts on different objects worthy of interesting men; and he might have said, with the old gentleman of Terence, that 'nothing affecting humanity was foreign to him.' Science of nature, morality, politics, œconomics, all seemed to be within the stretch of that luminous and profound wit; and we know not whether most to admire, the richness which he diffuses over all the subjects he discusses, or the dignity with which he discusses them. His writings cannot be better compared than to those of Hippocrates on medicine; and they would be neither less admired nor less read, if the culture of the mind was as dear to mankind as the preservation of their health. But there are none except the chiefs of sects of all kinds, whose works can have a certain splendor. Bacon was not of the number, and the form of his philosophy was against it. It was too good to fill any one with astonishment. The scholastic philosophy, which had gained the ascendant in his time, could not be overthrown but by bold and new opinions; and there is no probability that a philosopher, who only intimates to men, 'This is the little you have learned, this is what remains for your inquiry,'

would be calculated for making much noise among his contemporaries. We might even presume to hazard some degree of reproach against the Lord Chancellor Bacon for having been perhaps too timid, if we were not sensible with what reserve, and as it were with what superstition, judgement ought to be passed upon so sublime a genius. Though he confesses, that the scholastic philosophers had enervated the sciences by the minutiae of their questions, and that sound intellects ought to have made a sacrifice of the study of general beings to that of particular objects, he seems notwithstanding, by his frequent use of school-terms, and sometimes also by his adoption of scholastic principles, and the divisions and subdivisions then much in vogue, to have showed too much deference for the predominant taste of his age. This great man, after breaking the shackles of so many irons, was still entangled by some chains, which he either could not or dared not break asunder.

“ But the age,” observes Burnet, in his ‘*Specimens of Prose-Writers*,’ “ was in some degree prepared for him. The two great events, the revival of letters and the Reformation, had shaken and enlivened the wits of men; and many had struck out into new paths of successful research. These, however, were travellers on journeys of discovery. The map of the intellectual regions had not yet been sketched. A few positions only were ascertained; the other parts were desert and unknown. Bacon came, and with the light of his effulgent genius illumined the whole hemisphere of things: the various objects of inquiry now became distinctly marked, with their relative positions and bearing; the several tracts toward them were like-

wise indicated, and even made plain; and men had nothing more to do, than to proceed patiently and perseveringly to reach with certainty the expected end of their labours. From the time of Bacon, in consequence, the progress of knowledge of all kinds has been rapid and continual. That his writings constituted the sole cause of this general progression, I by no means intend to assert; but that they taught solely, and established, the only true method of acquiring knowledge, will not be disputed. The minds of men thus enlightened, their views of things became clear and settled. All future change, relative to the method of proceeding, is now out of the question; and we may go on, without any risk that our labour shall be in vain, to accumulate knowledge, to spread illumination and happiness. His writings, therefore, form one of the most important eras, not merely in the history of English literature, but in the annals of mankind.

The quality of mind, by which Bacon was pre-eminently distinguished—a quality, which of all others is the most distinctive of genius—was that variety, that universality of intellectual powers, which enabled him to embrace all nature in the ample vision of his capacious soul. Thus largely endowed, his faculties were kept in unceasing activity by their native force; the voice of fame was to him an unnecessary stimulus, and he never sought extensive and indiscriminate applause. Yet his studies were always the principal business of his life. His great aim in his philosophical pursuits was, to discover remedies for all human ills. Hence, he modestly styles himself, in his letter to Fulgentio, ‘the Servant of Posterity;’ and thought, and in the event proved.

himself to have been born for the use of human kind.

All the works of Lord Bacon were published collectively at London, in 1740, in four volumes folio: a very correct edition of them was also given to the world in 1765 by Dr. Birch, in five volumes 4to.; and they have been lately reprinted in ten volumes 8vo., six being appropriated to his English, and four to his Latin compositions.

Analysis of Bacon's 'Advantages of Learning.'

1. Learning relieves man's afflictions, which arise from nature.

2. Learning represses the inconveniences, which grow from man to man.

3. Learning has a certain concurrence with military virtue.

4. Learning improves private virtues.

5. Learning is the greatest of all powers.

6. Learning advances fortune.

7. Learning in pleasure and delight surpasses all other pleasure in nature.

8. Learning insures immortality.

Under the fourth and following heads, he observes:

'To proceed now from Imperial and Military Virtue to Moral and Private Virtue: first, it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses;

*Sicili ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit morès, nec sinit esse feros.*

‘ It taketh away the wildness, and barbarism, and fierceness of men’s minds: but, indeed, the accent had need be upon *fideliter*; for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect.

‘ It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried.

‘ It taketh away vain admiration of any thing, which is the root of all weakness: for all things are admired, either because they are new, or because they are great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation thoroughly, but will find that printed in his heart, *Nil novi super terram*. Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage or a fort or some walled town at the most, he said, “ It seemed to him that he was advertised of the battles of the Frogs and the Mice that the old tales went of.” So certainly, if a man meditate upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it (the divineness of souls excepted) will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust.

‘ It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death, or

adverse fortune; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus, who went forth one day and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken; and went forth the next day, and saw a woman weeping for her son that ~~was~~ dead: and thereupon said, *Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodiè vidi mortalem mori*. And, therefore, Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquests of all fears together as *concomitantia*:

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis aværi.*

‘It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind, sometimes purging the ill humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wound and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath *rationem totius*, which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account; nor the pleasure of that *suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem*. The good parts he hath he will learn to show to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them. The faults he hath he

will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them; like an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe: whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay farther, in general and in sum, certain it is that *veritas* and *bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print: for truth prints goodness; and they be the clouds of error, which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

‘ From Moral Virtue let us pass on to matter, of Power and Commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that, wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man’s nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of the commanded: to have commandment over beasts, as herdmen have, is a thing contemptible; to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour; to have commandment over galley-slaves, is a disparagement rather than an honour. Neither is the commandment of tyrants much better over people, which have put off the generosity of their minds: and therefore it was ever holden, that honours in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies; because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore, when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Cæsar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

Victorque volentes

Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.

‘ But yet the commandment of knowledge is still higher than the commandment over the will ; for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself : for there is no power on earth, which setteth up a throne or chair of state in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and belief, but knowledge and learning. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure, that arch-heretics and false prophets and impostors are transported with, when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men ; so great as, if they had once tasted of it, it is seldom seen that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandon it. But as this is that, which the Author of the Revelation calleth ‘ the depth or profoundness of Satan,’ so by argument of contraries the just and lawful sovereignty over men’s understanding, by force of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule.

‘ As for Fortune and Advancement, the beneficence of learning is not so confined to give fortune only to states and commonwealths, as it doth not likewise give fortune to particular persons. For it was well noted long ago, that Homer hath given more men their livings than either Sylla or Cæsar or Augustus ever did, notwithstanding their great largesses and donations and distributions of lands to so many legions : and no doubt it is hard to say, whether arms or learning have advanced greater numbers. And in case of sovereignty we see, that if arms or descent

have carried away the kingdom, yet learning hath carried the priesthood, which ever hath been in some competition with empire.

‘ Again, for the Pleasure and Delight of knowledge and learning, it far surpasseth all other in nature : for shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the pleasure of the senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner ; and must not, of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect, or understanding, exceed the pleasures of the affections ? We see in all other pleasures there is a satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth : which showeth well, they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures ; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality : and therefore we see, that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable ; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly,

Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.

It is a view of delight, saith he, to stand or walk upon the shore-side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea ; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain. But it is a pleasure incomparable for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth, and from thence to desery and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.

‘ Lastly, leaving the vulgar arguments—that by

learning man excelleth man in that, wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come, and the like: let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning, in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is Immortality or Continuance. For to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families; to this tend buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see, then, how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power, or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty five hundred years or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar; no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years: for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but lose of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledge remain in books exempted from the wrong of times, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called 'images,' because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages: so that if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their needs, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast sea of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the

wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other? Nay, farther, we see some of the philosophers, which were least divine and most immersed in the senses, and denied generally the immortality of the soul, yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, they thought might remain after death, which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affections: so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem unto them to be! But we who know by divine revelation, that not only the understanding but the affections purified, not only the spirit but the body changed, shall be advanced to immortality, do disclaim in these rudiments of the senses. But it must be remembered both in this last point, and so it may likewise be needful in other places, that in probation of the dignity of knowledge or learning, I did in the beginning separate divine testimony from human, which method I have pursued, and so handled them both apart.

‘ Nevertheless I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgement, either of Æsop’s cock that preferred the barley-corn before the gem; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo president of the Muses, and Pan god of the flocks, judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power; or of Agrippina, *Occidat matrem modò imperet*, that preferred empire with any condition never so detestable; or of Ulysses, *qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati*; being a figure of those, which prefer custom and habit before all excellency, or of a number of the like popular judgements. For these things must continue as they have been: but so w. l that also con-

tinue, whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not; *Justificata est Sapientia à filiis suis.*'

The following passage is extracted from his '*Nova Atlantis*,' which (as his Chaplain and Biographer Rawley informs us) was projected—for it was, unfortunately, left unfinished—*ut in eâ modulum quædam et descriptionem Collegii, ad interpretationem naturæ et operum magnitudinem ac potentiam instituti, exhiberet; idque nomine 'Domus Salomonis,' sive Collegii Operum sex Dierum, insigniret.*

'*Regnavit in hac Insulâ ante annos mille et nongentos Rex, cujus memoriam supra alios omnes maximè colimus et veneramur; non superstitiosè, sed tanquam divini cujusdam instrumenti, licèt hominis mortalis. Nomen ei fuit Solamona. Eum autem pro legislatore hujus gentis ducimus. Regi isti cor Deus indidit latum, et in bonis inscrutabile: qui in illud totus incumbibat, ut regnum et populum suum bearet. Itaque cùm secum reputaret, quàm sufficiens et (ut dicam) substantiva terra hæc ex sese fuerit ad seipsam sustentandam sine opibus aut copiis exterorum; quippe quæ in circuitu quinque mille et sexcenta milliaria plus minus contineret, et maximâ ex parte ferax imprimis esset et bonitate soli præstaret; atque rursus perpendens, classem et naves regni non segniter applicari et exerceri posse, tam per transportationem et vecturam de portu in portum, necnon per navigationes ad insulas quasdam adjacentes et imperio huic et legibus subditas; tum verò in memoriam revocans, quàm fecunda et florens eo tempore regni hujus status fuerit, ita ut mille modis in deterius, sed vis ullo*

modo in melius mutari posset: nihil omninò deesse putabat, quo fines suos nobiles planè et heròicos assequeretur, nisi ut (quantùm humana providentia efficere posset) res illas, quæ suo tempore tam feliciter essent fundatæ et stabilitæ, perpetuitate donaret. Quocirca, inter leges alias suas fundamentales, leges plurimas sanxit de introitu exterorum interdicens, qui eo tempore satis frequens erat: isthoc instituto, quia à novitatibus et mixturis morum metuebat. Verum est, interdictum simile de introitu exterorum scito veteri apud Chineses valuisse, atque etiamnum valere. Sed ibi res est despicabilis, eosque reddidit gentem curiosam, imperitam, timidam, et ineptam. At legislator noster, in lege suâ condendâ, diversum longè adhibuit temperamentum. Primùm enim jura humanitatis omnia sarta tecta servavit, in institutis et foundationibus suis pro levamine et solatio peregrinorum afflictorum.—Rex idem, cupiens factis humanitatis consilia politica adjungere, atque humanitati minimè convenire putans ut exteri inveni detinerentur, nec minùs rationibus statùs non convenire ut viderent et insulæ hujusce arcana eculgarent, hanc viam iniit. Constituit ut ex exteris, quibus permissum foret in hanc terram descendere, qui abire vellent non prohiberentur; qui autem manere præoptarent, conditiones et vivendi facultates à statu reciperent: in quâ re visu tam acri polluit, ut post tot sæculorum spatia à lege hæc conditâ memoriam nullam habeamus, ne vel unicæ duntaxat navis quæ reditum prætulit, atque tredecim tantùm virorum temporibus diversis qui in nostris navibus reverti elegerunt. Quid autem pauci illi, qui sic rediêrunt, de regione hac propalârunt, nos fugit. Facile autem existimare potestis, quicquid retulerint non

aliter quàm pro insomnia quodam habitum esse. Navigationes autem nostras, ad partes exterarum, visum est legislatori nostro penitus cœercere. In Chinâ hoc not fit. Etenim Chinenses quò volunt, et possunt, navigant: quod satis ostendit legem illorum, de exteris arcendis, à pusillanimitate solâ et metu provenire. Interdictio autem hæc nostra unam tantùm recipit restrictionem, eamque certè admirabilem: bonum enim, quod à communicatione cum exteris trahi possit, conservat, malum autem cœcit. Id vobis nunc aperiam. Atque hîc videbor aliquantisper ab eo quod agitur digredi; sed mox hoc ipsum ad rem pertinere perspicietis. Intelligetis itaque, amici mei præcari, inter acta illius regis unum maximè eminere. Illud est, fundatio sive institutio Ordinis cujusdam et Societatis, quam nos ‘Domum Salomonis’ vocamus: nobilissimam dico (quantùm nos arbitramur) omnium per terrarum orbem fundationem, atque regni hujusce luminare magnum. Domus hæc studiis et contemplationibus operum et creaturarum Dei dicata est. Putant nonnulli nomen traxisse à fundatore, paululùm corruptum; ac si deberet dici, ‘Solamone Domus’: verùm archiva ipsa authentica sic scriptum habent, prout in sermone quotidiano nunc profertur. Itaque nomen fluxisse arbitror à Rege illo Hebræorum, qui apud vos celebris est, nobis autem non ignotus; habemus enim portiones aliquas operum suorum, quæ apud vos desiderantur. Historiam illam Naturalem dico, quam concripsit de Plantis omnibus, ‘à Cedro Libani usque ad Hyssopum quæ de pariete egreditur,’ atque de omnibus rebus quibus vita et motus inest. Hinc ariæum meum cogitatio illa subiit regem nostrum, quandoquidem se in multis cum rege illo Hebræorum consentire sensit, qui multis ante eum

annis vixerat, ejus titulo foundationem hanc honorasse. Atque in hanc opinionem præcipuè adducor, quòd in historicis admodùm antiquis invenio Societatem hanc interdum ‘Domum Salomonis’ vocari, interdum autem ‘Collegium Operum sex Dierum.’ Unde persuasum habeo, regem illum nostrum præcellentem ab Hebræis didicisse, Deum mundum hunc et omnia quæ ei insunt sex dierum spatio creasse; ideòque, cùm domum illam institueret ad inquisitionem et inventionem naturæ veræ et interioris rerum omnium, quò Deus conditor majorem reciperet gloriam ob fabricam earum, homines autem uberiores perciperent fructum in usu earum, indidisse etiam ei illud alterum nomen, nimirùm, ‘Collegii Operum sex Dierum.’

‘Verùm, ut redeamus ad id, quod nunc agitur. Postquam rex omnem subditis navigationem interdixisset, præterquam in partes huic imperio subditas, hanc nihilominus ordinationem sancivit: nimirùm, singulis duodenis annis mittendas ex hoc regno naves binas in partes orbis diversas: in utràque navium harum tres ex Fraternitate Domus Salomonis seorsim vehendos: his in mandatis dandam, ut nos de rebus et statu locorum illorum, ad quos appellerent, certiores facerent; præcipuè autem de scientiis, artibus, manufacturis, et inventionibus mundi universi; utque in reditu libros, instrumenta, exemplaria in unoquoque genere ad nos perferrent: navibus postquam in terram Fratres exposuissent, redeundum, Fratribus autem usque ad novam missionem peregrè manendum: naves hasce non aliis mercibus instruendas quàm commatibus copiâ bonâ, necnon thesauri satis largâ quantitate in usum Fratrum ad res eas cœmendas et homines tales remunerandos quibus opus esset. Jam verò ut

vobis proferam modos, quibus vulgus nautarum cœercentur ne in terris ad quas appellant dignoscantur, aut quibus modis in terram expositi sub nomine nationum aliarum lateant, aut ad quæ loca navigationes nostræ designatæ sint, aut quæ loca novis rursus missionibus præfigantur, atque alias hujus generis circumstantias quæ ipsam practicam partem spectant, mihi proloqui fas non est; neque multùm certe ad quæstionem vestram conducet.

‘Sic itaque videtis, commercium nos instituisse non pro auro, argento, et gemmis; non pro sericis aut aromatibus, neque pro aliis quibusvis rebus crassis, sed tantùm pro creaturâ Dei primâ, luce scilicet; luce, inquam, in quicunque tandem terræ regione prorumpente et germinante.’*

* Other characteristic Extracts, if space had admitted, might have been made: of the *Prognostica Ventorum*, from his ‘*Historia Ventorum*,’ of the *Longævitæ et Brevitæ Vitæ in Homine*, from his ‘*Historia Vitæ et Mortis*,’ §§ 33—44: of the sixth chapter of his ‘*De Sapientiâ Veterum*,’ entitled *Pan, sive Natura*; and, for the disgraceful grossness of it’s adulation, the first part (as far as *Quare, ut ad inceptum revertar*) of his first book, being the Dedication of the ‘*De Augmentis Scientiarum*’ to James I.; subjoining to it, from a somewhat later page, as a self-condemnation,—‘*Interim monere placet, nos nihil minùs agere quàm ut patrocinemur quibusdam professorum institutis abjectis et sordidis, quibus et seipsos et literas dehonestârunt: quales erant apud Romanos sæculis posterioribus philosophi quidam in familiis divitum, mensarumque eorum assectæ quos haud absurdè dicas ‘Barbatos Parasitos.’—Ante omnia verò nihil tam offecit literarum dignitati quàm crassa et turpis adulatio, ad quàm multi (neque hi indocti) et oïamos et ingeniu submisère, Hecubam in Helenam, Faustina in Lucretiam, ut ait Durbantas, transformantes! Neque verò nimis laudis morem illum receptum h. e. patronis nuncupandi, cùm libri, præsertim qui hoc nomine ad laudand sint, ip veritatis tantum et rationis clientelam se debeat!’*

Bacon’s ‘*Considerations touching the Queen’s Service in*

THE WORLD.

• The World's a bubble: and the life of man
 Less than a span.
 In his conception wretched; from the womb
 So to the tomb.
 Nurst from his cradle, and brought up to years,
 With cares and fears.
 Who then to frail mortality shall trust,
 But limns on water, or but writes in dust.

Yet, whilst with sorrow here we live opprest,
 What life is best?
 Courts are but only superficial schools,
 To dandle fools.
 The rural part is turn'd into a den
 Of savage men.
 And where's a city from foul vice so free,
 But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

Domestic cares afflict the husband's bed,
 Or pains his head.
 Those that live single take it for a curse,
 Or do things worse.
 These would have children: those that have them, none,
 Or wish them gone.
 What is it then to have or have no wife,
 But single thralldom, or a double strife?

Our own affections still at home to please,
 Is a disease.
 To cross the seas to any foreign soil,
 Peril and toil.
 Wars with their noise affright us; when they cease,
 We're worse in peace.

• What then remains, but that we still should cry
 For being born, and being born to die?"

Ireland' also, and his Letter supposed to have been addressed to Buckingham, when he first became the favourite of his Sovereign, with Sir Thomas Bodley's Epistle to his Lordship upon his New Philosophy, are highly worthy of insertion.

GEORGE VILLIERS,*

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[1592—1628.]

GEORGE VILLIERS, the celebrated Duke of Buckingham, was born in 1592 at Brookesby in Leicestershire, where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four hundred years, rather without obscurity than with any great lustre, having long before been seated at Kinalton in the county of Nottingham. He was the third son of Sir George Villiers, by Mary daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Cole-Orton, Esq., names on either side well known of ancient extraction. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first rudiments, till his tenth year; and was thence sent to Billisden school in the same county, where he was taught the principles of music and other slight literature, till his thirteenth, at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother, for those attributes will not be denied her, took him home to her house at Goodby, where she had him in especial care; so that he was first, as we may say, a domestic favourite: but find-

* Written, with few variations, by a contemporary in the style of the times.

ing him, as it should seem, by nature a little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with the livelier qualities, and ornaments of youth, dancing, fencing, and the like (not without aim then perchance, though far off, at a courtier's life) to which lessons he had such a dexterous proclivity, that his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness, to the end that his brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him.

About the age of eighteen, he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the language, for one that had so little grammatical foundation; but more in the exercises of that nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight without affected forms, the ordinary disease of travellers. Upon his return, he passed another whole year at Goodby, under the wing and counsels of his mother; and then was forward to become a suitor at London to the daughter of Sir Roger Ashton, a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King James, and Master of the Robes. About which time, he fell into intimate society with Sir John Greham, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber; who, I know not upon what luminaries he espied in his face, dissuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court. This advice sunk well into his fancy: for within some while the King had taken upon certain glances, whereof the first was at Apthorpe in a progress, such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a master-piece, and to mould him as it were platonically to his own idea. Neither was his Majesty content only to be the architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand

likewise to some part of the work itself. He even veiled his goodness to the giving of his foresaid friend, Sir John Greham, secret directions, how and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession of the King's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a favourite, especially in the wane of his influence. Many arts were, accordingly, adopted to resist the progress of this new affection. All which notwithstanding, there was conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the King's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant, and shortly afterward his Cup-Bearer at large; and, the summer following, he was admitted into ordinary. After which, favours came thick upon him, liker main showers than sprinkling drops or dews; for the next St. George's Day he was knighted, and made Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and the very same day received an annual pension of 1000*l.* for his better support out of the Court of Wards.

At New Year's Tide following, the King appointed him Master of the Horse; and bestowed upon him the most noble Order of the Garter. In August, he was created Baron of Whaddon and Viscount Villiers: and four months afterward was made Earl of Buckingham, and sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council.

The ensuing March, he attended his Majesty into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a Councillor in that kingdom: where he carried himself with singular and most judicious sweetness of temper, being new in favour and having succeeded one of that nation, the Earl of Somerset, in his Sovereign's graces.

About New Year's Tide again, after his return (for those beginnings of years were very propitious to him, as if kings selected remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times as of the will) he was created Marquis of Buckingham, and made Lord Admiral of England, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench Office, Head Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle.

These offices and dignities, however, were but the facings or fringes of his greatness; in comparison of the trust which his gracious master reposed in him, when he made him the chief attendant of his son the Prince of Wales, in a journey of much adventure, and of which all communication had been withheld from the rest of his most confidential councillors.

This journey they commenced in 1623, from the Marquis' house at New Hall in Essex, setting out with disguised beards, under the assumed names of Thomas and John Smith, and attended only by Sir Richard Greham, Master of the Horse to the Marquis and in his peculiar favour. Upon passing the river opposite Gravesend, for want of silver, they gave the ferryman a piece of two-and-thirty shillings; which so affected the poor fellow, that suspecting they were going to decide some quarrel beyond sea, he entreated the officers of the town to cause them to be arrested at Rochester, through which place however they had passed before, the intelligence arrived. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French ambassador, with the King's coach and others attend-

ing him, which made them quit the beaten road, and ‘teach post hackneys to leap hedges.’

At Canterbury, whither some rumour (it should seem) had preceded them, the mayor of the town came himself to seize them, as they were taking fresh horses; bluntly alleging a warrant to stop them, first from the Council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from Sir Henry Mainwaring, then Lieutenant of Dover Castle. At these confused fictions the Marquis had no leisure to laugh; but removing his beard, he told him, that ‘he was going privately to take a secret view, as Admiral, of the forwardness of his Majesty’s fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas.’ This, with some difficulty, procured their liberation. It was six o’clock at night, on account of bad horses and frequent impediments, before they reached Dover; where they found Sir Francis Cottington (then Secretary to the Prince, afterward Baron of Haunworth) and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a vessel for their passage to the continent. Of these gentlemen, the former was admitted on account of his official connexion with the Prince, as well as from his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gained singular credit, even with that cautious nation, by the evenness of his carriage and behaviour; and the latter, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his Royal Highness, but likewise as a necessary instrument for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. These five, at first, constituted the whole of the party.

The next morning, taking shipping about six o’clock, they landed at Boulogne nearly two hours

after noon; reaching Montreuil that night, and Paris the second day afterward. On the way they met with two German gentlemen, newly arrived from England, who having seen at Newmarket the Prince and the Marquis taking coach with the King, now asserted a knowledge of their persons; but they were with no great effort convinced by Sir Richard Graham, that they laboured under a mistake.

At Paris, the Prince spent one entire day in viewing the curiosities of a city and court, which was so near a neighbour to his future estates. Of the French Monarch they got a sight after dinner in a gallery (where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures) and of the Queen Mother at her own table. Toward evening, likewise, by mere chance they had a full view of the Queen Infanta, and of the Princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies practising a masquing-dance, which was then in preparation; having been admitted by the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, as a matter of courtesy to strangers, when several of the French nobility were shut out.

From the next day, when they left Paris, they spent six days in reaching Bayonne, the last town of France, having previously supplied themselves at Bourdeaux with five riding coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of noble simplicity.

At Bayonne, the Count De Grammont, governor of that jealous key, took particular notice of their persons and behaviour; observing to some of his train, 'That he thought them gentlemen of much more worth than their habits announced: yet he courteously let them pass. Four days afterward, they reached Madrid.

To describe the whole course of the negotiation

there opened, the public entertainments, the private intrigues, the affected confidence, the apprehension of both parties, in fine, all the circumstances and considerations of religion and state there discussed, would better become a royal history or a council-table, than a single life. Yet we cannot omit some things, which occurred at the meeting of the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had some sharper and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an interview of grandees,* both vehement in favour of their respective interests. But the most remarkable was upon a supposition of the latter, that the former had intimated unto him some hopes of the Prince's conversion. This gilded dream, when stated in a conference, the Marquis roundly disavowed; upon which Olivares alleging he had given him 'La Mentida,' preferred a complaint to the Prince himself. The Marquis, seeing both his honour and the truth at stake, replied, with some heat, that 'the Conde's asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for he now held himself bound, as a gentleman, to maintain

* There is still a tradition in Spain, that Buckingham (notoriously a great intriguer) was very particular in his addresses to the Countess d'Olivares, who made an ample discovery of his gallantry to her husband. Upon which, it was concerted between them, that an infected subject should be substituted in the Countess' place. The effect fully answered their vindictive expectation. This story (which, however, Clarendon will not allow) would fully account for the determined enmity avowed by the English against the Spanish grandee on their separation: and it is countenanced by the addresses, which he had the hardihood to pay in France to Anne of Austria, Queen of Louis XIII. Wilson, too, plainly hints at this piece of secret history, which passed current in his time.

the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever.' This was the highest and harshest point, that occurred between them; which, that it went so far, was not the Marquis' fault, nor indeed that it went no farther. Another memorable passage, of gentler quality, is likewise upon record. The Spanish minister informed Buckingham of a certain flying report, that 'the Prince was plotting to be secretly gone:' to which the Marquis gave a well-tempered answer, that 'though love had made his Highness steal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain in any other manner than should become a prince of his royal and generous virtues.' '

In Spain they remained nearly eight entire months, during all which time Buckingham lay at home under the heaviest maledictions;* which yet, upon the

* Neither did the Prince himself, though the marriage (abhorred, as it was, by the Spaniards) was sanctioned by Gregory XV., under an apprehension that the English Catholics would be more cruelly persecuted in the event of it's failure, escape severe censure. Nani, in his discursive History of Venice, represents the English as murmuring exceedingly that the heir of their crown should present himself 'as a hostage, rather than an husband, to win by force of supplication a woman, whom Philip and his ministers made it a point of honour and of conscience to refuse.' But James was obstinately bent upon his son's journey, impelled partly by the persuasions of the Spanish ambassador Gondomar, who held out to him the lure of his son-in-law's restitution to the Palatine Elector; and partly by the representations of Sir Kenelm Digby, his own resident at the Court of Madrid. For this shameful imposition, the knavish Spaniard (whom Englishmen will never forgive, for his bloody persecution of Raleigh), was recompensed on his return with a seat in the Council of State. Charles himself acted the very lover of the old romances: occasionally kept his eyes intensely, and immovably, fixed upon the Infanta for half an hour together; lavished his prodigal presents upon every one, by whom

Prince's safe return, died and vanished away. To sum up the result of the journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest observers: The Prince himself, it was said, without any imaginable strain of his religion, had by the sight of foreign courts, and observations of the different natures of the people and governments, much excited and awakened his spirits, and corroborated his judgement. And as for the Marquis, note was taken of two great advantages which he had gained; an increase of title,* and an opportunity by his long and intimate association with the Prince of securing as it were two lives in his own fortune and greatness: whereas, otherwise, the estate of a favourite is only at best that of a tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the Spanish commission, which in public estimation was the main scope of the journey, that was left in complete suspense, and after some time utterly laid aside. This subjected Buckingham to considerable censure: the majority believing, that he had brought back some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his counsels; while others, with harsher judgement, ascribed his conduct to the ambition of showing his power either to knit or to dissolve.

The whole scene of affairs, however, was shifted

she was surrounded, to the great dissatisfaction of the Lord Treasurer at home: and once scaled the walls of the garden for the sake of a momentary interview.

The match appears to have been broken off, perhaps principally, through the mutual hatred of the two favourites d'Olivares and Buckingham; and the only sincerity throughout was that of the two youthful lovers, who were but two beautiful balls, however, in the hands of the great players.

* He had been created a Duke during his absence.

from Spain to France: which alteration being generally liked, and all state-changes being naturally attributed to the minister of the day, his Grace became suddenly and strangely popular among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; so as for a time apparently to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which in the experience of all ages has been noted between the vulgar and the sovereign favour.

Upon his return from Spain, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (which is, as it were, a second admiralty) and Steward likewise of the Manor of Hampton Court; dignities and offices still growing of trust or profit, and the King now bestowing not only out of beneficent disposition, but also from an habitual and confirmed custom.

Upon the death of James, the most important and pressing care of his youthful successor was his marriage, for an immediate establishment of the royal line. In this the Duke having had an especial hand, he was sent to conduct hither the Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon; of whom his Majesty, as above stated, had a glimpse in the early part of his travels. The only peer, who accompanied him upon this mission, was the Earl of Montgomery.

After this fair discharge, all civil honours having been showered upon him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, by a breach first with Spain, and not long afterward with France itself, notwithstanding the close affinity so lately meditated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other; as if indeed, according to that pleasant maxim of state, ' Kingdoms were never

married.' This, of necessity, involved the Duke in business sufficient to have overset a smaller vessel; being the next commander, under the crown, of ports and ships. But he was noted willingly to embrace those overtures of public employment: for, in the parliament assembled at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in maritime service had been somewhat deeply aspersed, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open: so that, to wipe out this objection, he now anxiously attended his charge. The magazines of ammunition were inspected; the officers of remains called to account; frequent councils of war summoned, and many private conferences held with expert seamen; a fleet prepared for some attempt upon Spain; and the Duke himself personally despatched to the States-General with the Earl of Holland, a nobleman of singularly solid and useful public talents, to negotiate both with the States themselves, and with the ministers of other confederate princes, a common diversion for the recovery of the Palatinate.

Here, it would be unjust to omit a noble act of Buckingham's during this employment. There was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabic, and brought together from the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, a celebrated Oriental scholar. These, having been bequeathed to his widow, were now upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp, 'liquorish chapmen of such ware;' of which the Duke being apprised by his worthy and learned secretary, Dr. Mason, he immediately offered for them 500*l.*, a sum above their weight in silver, by a mixed act of magnificence and charity, the more laudable as being out of his natural element. These

after his death were presented, as nobly as they had been bought, to the University of Cambridge by the Duchess Dowager, in conformity to her husband's intention,* as intimated to her by Dr. Mason.

The aforesaid negotiation, though urged with vehemence, detained the Duke a month at the Hague; and, upon his return he met no good news of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation of it, he had *ex officio* spent much solicitude; yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late setting-out, and by some contrariety of weather at sea, which gave time for the particular design to transpire.

Not long afterward the King, alarmed at the posture of his foreign affairs, summoned a parliament at Westminster. In that assembly there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion, in the Duke's case; as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities. This troubled him the more, because it occurred so immediately upon his return from the Low-Countries, where he had been engaged (as he fondly conceived) in the discharge of a meritorious public duty.

To the thirteen articles of his impeachment, his answers were very diligently and civilly couched; and, though his heart was big, they all savoured of an humble spirit. This tempest indeed did only shake, not rend, his sails: for his Majesty, considering that almost all the alleged offences were without the compass of his own reign, and moreover that nothing alleged against him had been or could be proved by oath according to the constitution of the House of

* He had likewise purposed to raise in the same University, of which he was Chancellor, a fair case for those monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts at his own charge.

Commons (which the Duke himself did not forget to state, in the preface of his answers) and lastly having had such experience of his fidelity abroad, where he was chief in trust and in the participation of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour to support him at home from any farther inquietude.

The summer following this parliament, after an embargo on our trading ships in the river of Bourdeaux, and other points of sovereign affront, the action of Rhé took place; in which the Duke was personally employed upon both elements, both as Admiral and General, hoping in that service to recover the public good-will, which he saw by his own example might quickly be won and lost.

His carriage, at this time, was surely noble throughout. To the gentlemen, of fair respect; bountiful to the soldiery, whenever he observed special value in any; tender and careful of those that were hurt; of unquestionable courage in himself, and rather fearful of fame than danger. In his countenance, the part which all eyes interpret, no open alteration was visible, even after his expected succours had failed him. But the less he showed without, the more, according to the nature of suppressed passions, it wrought within: for to Dr. Mason, who slept on a pallet by his side, he frequently, in the absence of other ears and eyes, broke out into bitter and passionate exclamations; protesting, that 'neither his despatches to divers princes, nor the concerns of a fleet, an army, a siege, or a negotiation, singly or collectively so much affected his repose, as the apprehension that some at home under his Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him.'

Of their two forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other. But of the general town he maintained a seizure and possession upward of three months: and on the first disembarkation, disdaining to be immured within a wooden vessel, he countenanced the landing in his long-boat; where succeeded such a defeat of nearly two hundred horse (and these not apparently mounted in haste, but for the most part gentlemen of good family and great resolution) seconded by two thousand foot, as may well endure comparison with the bravest actions of antiquity.

Upon his return to Plymouth, a strange accident befel him; not indeed worthy perhaps of being recorded for itself, but as it seems to have furnished a kind of prelude to his final period. Lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour and of vigilant affection for his friend, sent him an express messenger, anxiously requesting him to avoid the ordinary road to London; as he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution against him on his journey to court. The Duke, meeting the messenger on his way, read the letter, but nevertheless without the least imaginable apprehension rode forward; although his company were not more than seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence than with ordinary swords. He had not advanced three miles before he met an old woman, who demanded, 'whether the Duke were in the company?' and on receiving a reply in the affirmative informed him that, 'in the very next town upon his road, she had heard some desperate men vow his death;' at the same time, directing him about by a surer way. This casual warning, joined with the deliberate advertisement of his noble friend,

moved him to communicate all the circumstances to his party, who jointly agreed that the woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding their importunity, however, he resolved not to change his route; convinced, as he said, that 'if he should but once by such a procedure make his enemies believe he was afraid of danger, he should never live without.'

Upon this his young nephew, Viscount Fielding, out of a noble spirit besought him, that 'he would at least honour him with his coat and blue ribbon through the town;' urging that upon his uncle's life lay the property and prosperity of his whole family, and undertaking so to muffle up himself in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern the difference. At this affectionate proposition, the Duke caught him in his arms, and kissed him; declining, however, to accept such a generous offer from a nephew, whose life he tendered as dearly as his own. At the same time, he liberally rewarded the old woman for her good will; and after some short directions to his company, how they should conduct themselves, rode forward without any apparent perturbation. He had no sooner entered the town, than a soldier caught hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drunken fashion; but a gentleman of his train who followed at some distance, conceiving that this might be the beginning of the intended assault, spurred on his horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest passed quickly through the town: neither was there any farther inquiry into the matter, his Grace perhaps thinking it wisdom not too deeply to resent discontentments.

At court he found no change in faces, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant gentlemen, against which his friends opposed in their discourses the chance of war, and the failure of his promised supplies. His fame, however, fell more and more in obloquy among the vulgar, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so that he plainly perceived he must engage in some fresh expedition in order to heal, by his best endeavours, his wounded reputation. In the mean while, he was not unmindful, in his civil course, to practise the usual methods of gaining over such as were of principal credit in the Lower House of Parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: when, amidst all his machinations, he was surprised with his fatal stroke.

There was a younger brother of mean fortune, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep, melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution; but bred in the active profession of a soldier, and at this time lieutenant of a company of foot in the regiment commanded by Sir James Ramsey. This man had closely within himself conceived the Duke's death: but what may have been his immediate or greatest motive, is even yet unascertained.

It was said at first, that upon his captain's death he had been stung with a denial of his company; and the Duke, it is certain, had in compliance with Ramsey's recommendation bestowed it upon one Powel, the colonel's lieutenant and a gentleman of extraordinary valour: but to this, as Felton acknowledged, Powel both by his station and his merit might justly pretend. By others it was stated, that between a

knight of the same county, whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour, and the said Felton there had been ancient quarrels, which might perhaps still lie festering in his breast, and by continued inflammation produce this gangrenous result. Neither of these causes, however, appears adequate to the great effect. The assassin himself, not three hours before his execution, alleged to Sir Richard Greham two only inducements: the first, a certain libellous book, written by one Egglestone a Scottish physician, which represented the Duke as ‘one of the foulest monsters upon earth, unworthy not only of life in a Christian court and under so virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of humanity;’ the other, the remonstrance itself of the Lower House against him, which (thinking it perchance, the fairest cover) he put in the second place. Whatever were his motives, he prosecuted and achieved his enterprise in the following manner:

In a by-cutler’s shop on Tower-Hill, he purchased a tenpenny knife, the sheath of which he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade with one hand, as he had maimed the other. This done, he reached Portsmouth, partly (as it is said) on horseback, and partly on foot, for he was in great poverty, which might perhaps have a little edged his desperation. There without any suspicion, among numbers solicitous of employment, he pressed into an inward chamber, where Buckingham was at breakfast with Monsieur de Soubes and Sir Thomas Fryer; and a little before his Grace’s rising from the table, moved thence into a kind of lobby between that room and the next,

where divers were in waiting for the Duke's appearance. In this lobby, as Buckingham was passing through, the assassin with a back stroke gave him a deep wound in his left-side. The Duke, having just time to pull out the knife, sunk down under the table, and expired.*

One circumstance ensuing upon this transaction is beyond all wonder; that, within the space of not many minutes after the removal of the body into the first room, there was not a single creature remaining in either of the chambers! Usually such cases draw together a great and sudden conflux of people: but the very horror of the deed it should seem had stupefied all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer† himself might have escaped, if he had not lingered about the house below, not from any confused arrest of conscience (as has occasionally occurred in similar examples) but from pride in his own achievement, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame and a memorable infamy.

Thus fell, at the age of thirty-six, this illustrious peer, in a moment of great recourse unto him, and general dependence upon him: the house and town,

* Before this bloody event, Sir Clement Throgmorton, a gentleman of grave judgement, had advised him to wear a privy coat. The Duke received his suggestion very kindly; but replied, "that against any popular fury a shirt of mail would be but a weak defence, and for any single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger." So dark is destiny!

† On the trial of Felton, an attempt was made to introduce examination by torture; but the judges, to their honour (as dependent at that time, for the continuance of their offices, on the pleasure of the court) declared, that 'torture could not by the law of England be administered.'

full of servants and suitors; his Duchess in an upper room, scarcely yet out of bed; and the court, which had been the stage of his greatness, not above eight or nine miles from him.

As to ominous presages of his end, it is reported, that being about to take leave of the Bishop of London, whom he knew by his own eminent abilities well planted in the royal affection, after mutual courtesies he thus addressed him: "I know your Lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the King our Sovereign, let me pray you to put his Majesty in mind to be good, as I no ways distrust, to my poor wife and children." At these words, or at his mode of uttering them, the Bishop being somewhat troubled, asked him, 'whether he had any secret bodings in his mind?' "No," replied the Duke, "but I think some adventure may kill me as well as another man." The day before he was assassinated, in consequence of some indisposition, the King honoured him with a visit, and found him in his bed; where, after much serious discourse, the Duke, on his Majesty's departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, as he did also his friend the Earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined that he should see them no more. On the very day of his death, his sister the Countess of Denbigh received a letter from him, her reply to which she copiously bedewed with her tears. It ended thus: "I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you."

The day following, her friend the Bishop of Ely, who was thought the fittest person to prepare her

mind for the doleful tidings, came to visit her: but hearing she was at rest, he waited till she should awake of herself, which she presently did with the terror of a frightful dream. Her brother seemed to pass through a field with her, in her coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, she was told 'it was for joy that Buckingham was sick.' This melancholy vision she had scarcely related unto her gentlewoman, before the Bishop entered her chamber, as the chosen messenger of the Duke's death.

But the most remarkable instance of all is the celebrated story of the apparition, which is recorded by Lord Clarendon. "There was an officer in the King's wardrobe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more. This man had in his youth been bred in a school in the parish where Sir George Villiers, the father of the Duke, lived; and had been much cherished and obliged, in that season of his age, by the said Sir George, whom afterward he never saw.

"About six months before the miserable end of the Duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor (where his office was) and in very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed a man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and fixing his eyes upon him, asked him 'if he knew him.' The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being asked the second time 'whether he remembered him,' and having in that time called to his memory the presence of Sir George Villiers and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered him, that 'he

thought him to be that person.' He replied, 'he was in the right, that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him, which was that he should go from him to his son the Duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not somewhat to ingratiate himself to the people, or at least to abate the extreme malice which they had against him, he would be suffered to live but a short time.' After this discourse he disappeared, and the poor man (if he had been at all waking) slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

' " The next night, or shortly afterward, the same person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him, 'whether he had done as he had required of him;' and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions, told him 'he expected more compliance from him, and that if he did not perform his commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should always be pursued by him:' upon which he promised him to obey. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was still willing to persuade himself that he had only dreamed, and considered that he was a person at such a distance from the Duke, that he knew not how to find out any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say; so with great trouble and uneasiness he spent some time in thinking what he should do, and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

" The same person appeared to him the third time

with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had, by this time, recovered the courage to tell him, that 'in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon considering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the Duke, having acquaintance with no person about him; and if he should obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him that he was sent in such a manner: that he should at least be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed by his own, or the malice of other men, to abuse the Duke; and so he should be sure to be undone.' The person replied, as he had done before, that 'he should never find rest till he should perform what he had required, and therefore he were better to despatch it: that the access to his son was known to be very easy, and that few men waited long for him; and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living but to the Duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them, but he should believe all the rest he should say:' and so, repeating his threats, he left him.

"In the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London, where the court then was. He was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the Masters of Requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the Duke, and was himself, well received by him. To him this man went, and though he did not acquaint him with all the particulars, he said enough to let him know there was something extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and dis-

cretion of the man, made the more impression on him. He desired, that by his means he might be brought to the Duke, in such a place and in such a manner as should be thought fit, affirming that 'he had much to say to him, and of such a nature as would require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing.' Sir Ralph promised, he would speak first with the Duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure; and accordingly, the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The Duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him that 'he was the next day early to hunt with the King: that his horses should attend him at Lambeth bridge, where he should land by five of the clock in the morning; and, if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and speak with him as long as should be necessary.'

"Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the Duke at his landing, who received him very courteously, and walked aside in conference near an hour: none but his own servants being at that hour in that place, and they and Sir Ralph at such a distance, that they could not hear a word; though the Duke sometimes spoke loud and with great emotion, which Sir Ralph the more easily observed and perceived, because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the Duke, having procured the conference upon somewhat he knew was extraordinary. The man told him, in his return over the water, that 'when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit (the substance whereof, he said, he durst not impart unto him) the

Duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come at that knowledge only by the devil, for that those particulars were only known to himself and to one person more, who he was sure would never speak of it. '*

"The Duke pursued his purpose of hunting, but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon; and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours, the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms. And when the Duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble with a mixture of anger, a countenance that was never before observed in him in any conversation with her, toward whom he had a profound reverence; and the Countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Compton, she had been created Countess of Buckingham shortly after her son had assumed that title) was, at the Duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.

"Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the Duke's murder (which happened within a few months after) was

*.Fame insinuates, that the secret token was an incestuous breach of modesty between the Duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it surprised him to hear of: this he thought he had good reasons to be sure the lady would not herself have communicated, and therefore he concluded none but the devil could have divulged the matter, so that he was very far from receiving the man slightly, or laughing at his message

brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised, but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterward express such a degree of sorrow, as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son." *

He took to wife, eight years before his death, Lady Catherine Manners, heiress general to the noble house of Rutland, who beside a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons and a daughter (called Mary, his first-born): his eldest son died at nurse, before his journey to Rhé; and his third, Lord Francis, was born after his father's death: so that neither his first nor his last participated of any sense of his misfortunes or felicities. The second, who succeeded to his estates and honours, was born to cheer him on his return from that unfortunate expedition.†

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved his lady dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation; bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure. His elder brother of the same womb he left a Viscount, and his younger brother an Earl; Sir Edward

* This story, which the noble Historian of the English Rebellion seriously pronounces to rest "upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon," is related with some little circumstantial difference by several considerable authors; but all seem to agree in it's material parts.

† His Life, with a short account of the fatal gallantry of his beautiful brother Lord Francis Villiers, is given in a subsequent Volume.

Villiers, his half-brother on the father's side, he preferred to the presidentship, where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, and died with the unfeigned regret of the whole province. The eldest of the brothers, and heir of the name, was made a Baronet, but abstained from court, enjoying perhaps the greater satisfaction of self-fruition. His mother was created a Countess by patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, having become somewhat rare since the days of Queen Mary. And his sister, the Countess of Denbigh, he humbly recommended to the Queen; who on the discharge of some of her French attendants, took her into three several places of honour and confidence.

In short, not to insist on every particular branch of those private preferments, all his female kindred of the entire or half-blood, of the name of Villiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, were matched either with peers of the realm and their apparent heirs, or at least with knights or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition. His own subsistence in court he did not much strengthen, but stood there upon his own feet; for in truth most of his courtly connexions rather leaned upon him, than shored him up. His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of state, of law, or of office, he left both in good fortune, and what is more, in good reputation.

By the elegance of his person, the beauty of his face,* and the courtliness of his address, he gained

* It was for his fine face, that James usually called him 'Stenny' (the diminutive of Stephen) alluding to Acts vi. 15. where it is said of the first Martyr, *All that sa. in the council look-*

as high an ascendancy over his Sovereign, as other favourites have usually done only by a long course of obsequious and servile assiduity. No wonder that the accumulation of honour, wealth, and power upon a vain man, suddenly raised from a private station, should expose him to envy; especially as the Duke was not less void of prudence and moderation in the use of these enjoyments, than the fond King had been in bestowing them. It must be acknowledged, however, that this great man was not without his virtues. He had all the courage and sincerity of a soldier; and was one of the few courtiers, as honest and open in their enmity, as military men are in their friendship. He was the last reigning favourite, that ever openly tyrannised in this kingdom.

ing steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. Some of his Grace's expressions of servility to the King were not less singular: one of his letters concludes with, "Your faithful dog, STENNY." The Queen, in her letter to him (then Marquis of Buckingham) soliciting his intercession with her royal husband in behalf of Sir Walter Raleigh, addresses him as "Her kind Dogge!"

GEORGE ABBOT,*
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[1562—1633.]

THIS prelate was the son of Maurice Abbot a clothworker, who suffered great hardships for his attachment to the Protestant faith under Queen Mary from the persecution of Dr. Story, an active bigot in those unhappy days. He resided at Guildford in Surrey, where his son George was born in 1562. The first rudiments of his education he received from Mr. Francis Taylor, Master of the Free Grammar School in that town. Thence he removed to Baliol College, Oxford; and, in 1583, was chosen Probationer Fellow of that Society. Entering into holy orders soon afterward, he became a celebrated preacher. In 1593, he took the degree of B. D., and in 1597 that of D. D. The same year, likewise, he was elected Master of University College.

About this time a disagreement arose between Abbot and Laud, his celebrated successor in the metropolitan chair. These two divines, at a very

* **AUTHORITIES.** Heylin's *Life of Abbot*; Winwood's *Memorials*; Fuller's *Church History*; Rushworth's *Collections*; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*; and Wallwood's *Memoirs*.

early period, considered each other as rivals; and Laud having advanced some tenets in his academical exercises, which appeared to favour the doctrines of the Romish church, Abbot was active in promoting the censure passed upon him in 1606 by the University: this was so highly resented by Laud, that their mutual aversion continued for life.

In 1599, Dr. Abbot was made Dean of Winchester, and the following year elected Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; an honour, which he enjoyed a second and third time in the years 1603 and 1605. The translation of the Bible now in use was begun by command of James I. in 1604; and Abbot was the second of the eight Oxford divines,* to whom

* It may not be improper to insert in this place the names of the whole body employed in this important work, with the rules which regulated their labours.

“Those appointed in 1604,” says Lewis (*‘History of English Translations of the Bible,’* p. 310.) “were distributed into six classes, and were to meet at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford, according to the following *Order agreed upon for the translating the Bible* :

“The Pentateuch, and the Story from Joshua to 1 Chronicles exclusive, by ten Westminster divines: Drs. Lancelot Andrews, Dean of Westminster; John Overal, Dean of St. Paul’s; Adrian de Saravia; Richard Clarke, (Cantuar.); John Layfield, and Leigh; and Messrs. Burleigh and Bedwell (Stretford); King (Sussex); and Thompson (Clare) :

“From 1 Chronicles the rest of the Story, and the Hagiographa, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, by eight from Cambridge; Mr. Livelye, Dr. Richardson, and Messrs. Chadderton, Dillingham, Harrison, Andrews, Spaldinge, and Ring :

“The Four Greater Prophets with the Lamentations, and the Twelve Lesser Prophets, by seven from Oxford; Drs. Hardinge, Reynolds, Holland, and Kilbie; and Messrs. Smith (Hereford), Brett, and Fareclowe :

the care of translating the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation was committed. He

The Epistles of St. Paul, and the Canonical Epistles, by seven of Westminster: Drs. Barlow, Dean of Chester; Hutchinson, and Spencer; and Messrs. Fenton, Rabbett, Sander-son, and Dakins:

“The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Apocalypse, by eight from Oxford: Drs. Ravis, Dean of Christ-Church; ABBOT, Dean of Winchester; Montague, Dean of Worcester; and Thomson, Dean of Windsor; Mr. Savile, Drs. Perin and Ravens, and Mr. Harmar:

“And the Prayer of Manasses with the rest of the Apocrypha by seven from Cambridge: Drs. Dupont, Branthwaite, and Radcliffe; and Messrs. Ward (Eman.), Downes, Boyse, and Warde of King’s.”

To these forty-seven, of whom Andrews, Overal, Smith, Barlow, Ravis, ABBOT, Montagu, and Thomson were soon afterward exalted to the Bench, were to be added seven others as Overseers of the Translation, and especially as guardians of the third and fourth subjoined rules, to make up the intended number of fifty-four (perhaps three from each University, and one from Westminster, thus completing the number supplied by each to eighteen); and “for the better ordering of their proceedings,” we are told by Fuller in his ‘Church-History,’ (X. 46, 47.) his Majesty recommended the following Rules to them to be very carefully observed:

‘1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops’ Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit:

‘2. The names of the Prophets and the Holy Writers, with the other names in the Text, to be retained as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used:

‘3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word ‘Church’ not to be translated ‘Congregation:’

‘4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept, which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith:

‘5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require:

likewise published, this year, 'An Answer to Dr. Hill's Reasons for upholding Popery.'

'6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text :

'7. Such quotation of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit references of one scripture to another :

'8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinks good, all to meet together to confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand :

'9. As any one company hath despatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously ; for his Majesty is very careful in this point :

'10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof to note the places, and therewithal to send their reasons ; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work :

'11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned in the land for his judgement in such a place :

'12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send their particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford, accordingly as it was directed before in the King's letter to the Archbishop :

'13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for Westminster, and the King's Professors in Hebrew and Greek in the two Universities :

'14. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz. Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Matthews, Whitchurch's (the great Bible printed in 1539 and 1540 by Whitchurch) and Geneva.'

As a proof of the accuracy with which this version was conducted, I subjoin a passage from Walton's Life of San-

Upon the death of his first patron the Earl of Dorset in 1608, he became Chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar Treasurer of Scotland, with whom he visited that kingdom, in order to effect an union between the English and Scottish church: and by the address, moderation, and learning, which he manifested upon this important subject, he laid the foundation of his future fortune. King James had suffered so much by the spirit and influence of his Presbyterian compatriots, that he was determined at all events to restore episcopacy: but his agent, the Earl of Dunbar, from the opposition which he encountered, was on the point of abandoning the

derson: "This Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it at Oxford; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the Translators of the Bible: and this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company: and they resting on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend, and going together to that parish-church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and show three reasons, why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house, where after some other conference the Doctor told him, he 'might have preached more useful doctrine; and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that end, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed:' and the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, 'he would not justify himself.'"

project; when by the skilful management of Dr. Abbot, aided perhaps by the powerful influence of some seasonable distributions from the treasury,* an accommodation was brought about, and Bishops were allowed to form a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Kirk. Their powers and privileges, however, were limited by articles, which were subsequently ratified by the parliament of that kingdom. While he remained at Edinburgh, a prosecution was commenced against one George Sprot, for having been concerned in Gowry's conspiracy eight years before. A long account of this affair, with a narrative† prefixed by Abbot, was published by Judge Hart in London, to satisfy public curiosity upon this hitherto mysterious affair.‡ His whole conduct indeed in Scotland was

* See Calderwood's 'History of the Church of Scotland.' The Bishops were appointed to be perpetual moderators in the diocesan synods, and to possess the power of presentation to benefices, and of deprivation or suspension of ministers, with other privileges.

† In this Preface, he says of James: "His whole life has been so immaculate and unspotted in the world, so free from all touch of viciousness and staining imputation, that even malice itself, which leaveth nothing unstained, could never find true blemish in it nor cast probable aspersion on it; zealous as David; learned and wise, the *Solomon* of our age; religious as Josias; careful of spreading Christ's faith as Constantine the Great; just as Moses; undefiled in all his ways as Jehoshaphat or Hezekias; full of clemency as another Theodosius!!" Not long afterward, he asserted, that 'a Protestant Prince ought not to assist his neighbours in shaking off their obedience to their own Sovereign upon the account of oppression or tyranny'—on the slavish principle that even 'tyranny is God's authority!' But he lived to exchange these for sounder notions.

‡ Of the reality of this conspiracy, of which doubts have occasionally been entertained, Dr. Robertson and Guthrie seem fully persuaded.

highly acceptable to his Majesty, who after his return began to solicit his advice upon affairs of state.*

Upon the death of Overton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Abbot was promoted to the vacant see in December 1609. In little more than a month afterward, he succeeded Dr. Ravis in the see of London, in which he distinguished himself by his frequent preaching, and his patronising of learning and learned men; and before the expiration of the following year, on the demise of Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, his Majesty bestowed upon him the primacy. From this time, he had a principal share in the administration of government, with the entire approbation of the people. In his high station he never forgot himself, nor appeared inordinately elated by the power, which he had so rapidly attained. Neither did he extend the prerogatives of his dignity beyond their due bounds: by the coolness of his temper indeed, and the moderation of his principles, he displeased the high-church party, who deemed the establishment endangered by his candid and liberal treatment of such as dissented from its tenets. Regardless however of their intolerant clamors, he persisted in one uniform course of conduct; and when he thought the rights of the church actually invaded, maintained them with great resolution, particularly in the case of the prohibitions set forth by

* When called upon by his allies to concur in the treaty between the states of Holland and Spain; James, after consulting the Convocation upon the subject, in a letter to Dr. Abbot (which is still extant) requested his private opinion on the same matter.

Sir Edward Coke against the jurisdiction and authority of the High-Commission Court.*

His zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion induced him strenuously to recommend the marriage between the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James; and he had the pleasure of performing the nuptial ceremony. His Electoral Highness, however, left England dissatisfied: but previously to his departure, as a testimony of his confidence in the Primate, he announced to him in a private letter, as the principal cause of his disgust, the King's refusal to grant to his entreaties the release of Lord Grey from his imprisonment in the Tower. †

* It is not here meant to contend, that he was right upon this occasion, for the jurisdiction of the Court in question was most oppressive: but he thought himself so; and, in correct ideas of civil liberty, his contemporaries were no mighty proficient.

† About this time the celebrated Grotius visited England, for the purpose of endeavouring to give James a more favourable opinion of the 'Remonstrants,' by which name the Arminians in Holland had then begun to distinguish themselves. Neither the Archbishop however, nor any of his colleagues, treated him with particular respect; and he returned disappointed of the grand object of his journey. The occasion of this visit I abridge from Dr. Aikin's 'General Biography.' When Conrad Vorstius, who had in Holland written in Latin an Arminian treatise 'On the Attributes of God,' was nominated to a professorship at Leyden, Abbot, a rigid Calvinist, persuaded his Sovereign (as appears from authority, which the author of the 'Confessional' has in vain endeavoured to invalidate) to protest, through his minister Sir Ralph Winwood, against the admission of this 'heretic' to the chair; and being unexpectedly opposed, pitifully concurred in postponing the decision till the opinion of the churches of France, Germany, and other countries on the subject could be collected. A passage from the Archbishop's

In 1613, an event occurred, which considerably lowered him in the royal esteem. Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, had been married at thirteen years of age to the Earl of Essex, who as he was himself only fourteen, was immediately sent abroad on his travels, his young wife remaining at home and occasionally attending the court. This gave Car Viscount Rochester, the King's favourite, an opportunity of winning her affections; and accordingly, upon her husband's return, she instituted a suit against him in the ecclesiastical court, praying a divorce. To this wicked artifice, though countenanced by James himself, the incorruptible Primate, foreseeing the encouragement it would furnish to licentious gallantry, could not by any means be induced

letter to Winwood is too curious to be omitted: " You must take heed how you trust Dr. Grotius too far: I perceive him to be so addicted to some partialities in these parts, that he feareth not to lash, so it may serve a turn. At his first coming to the King, by reason of his good Latin tongue he was so tedious and full of tittle-tattle, that the King's judgement was of him, that he was ' some pedant full of words and of no great judgement.' And I myself, discovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him so long as he would talk (which is a great burthen to men replete with business) did privately give him notice thereof, that ' he should plainly and directly deliver his mind, or else he would make the King weary of him.' This did not so take place, but that afterward he fell to it again, as was especially observed one night at supper at the Lord Bishop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr. Casaubon (as I think) my Lord entreated him to stay supper, which he did. There was present Dr. Steward and another civilian, unto whom he flings out some question of that profession, and was so full of words, that Dr. Steward afterward told my Lord, that ' he did perceive by him that like a smatterer he had studied some two or three questions, whereof when he came in company he must be talking to vindicate; but, if he were put from those, he could show himself but a *simple fellow*!'"

to extend his consent.* When the cause, however, was tried before the Court of Delegates, the sentence of divorce was carried by a majority of two Bishops devoted to the court. The people loudly exclaimed against his Majesty for his conduct upon the occasion; and Rochester's perfidy did not escape animadversion. But James, in shameless defiance of public opinion, caused his favourite and the disengaged Countess to be married soon afterward in the royal chapel; and, that she might not lose her rank, created Rochester Earl of Somerset.† Yet neither the sanction of the Sovereign, nor the adulations of a corrupt court, could stifle the horrors of reflexion, kept alive as they were in Somerset's breast by the constant remonstrances of Sir Thomas Overbury. Having vainly endeavoured to prevent the fatal match, this excellent friend did not scruple to impute his failure to the passions of the Countess. By her instigation, in consequence of an alleged affront to the King,‡ he was sent to the Tower. Having thus secured their victim, it was not long before they caused him to be poisoned. for this murder they were tried and condemned, but pardoned by the

* He subsequently wrote a vindication of himself, entitled 'Some Memorials, touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, pronounced September 21, 1613, at Lambeth, and the difficulties endured in the same, with an Appendix;' which was answered by the King himself: but Abbot was proof, even to royal logic.

† This inauspicious marriage, which in the event proved his ruin, was attended with greater pomp and festivity than that of any other subject in the kingdom. See the 'Detection of the Court and State of England during the Four Last Reigns.'

‡ In refusing to accept an embassy to a climate, which he knew would disagree with his constitution.

King in 1624. The disgrace of Somerset, however, was the immediate consequence; and they both lived, thenceforward, in merited obscurity.

In 1616, Antonio de Dominis,* Archbishop of Spalato, who had taken shelter in England from the persecution with which he was threatened by the Pope (on account of his hostility, both to the doctrine and the discipline of the church of Rome) was kindly received by James, and under his Majesty's direction entertained by the Archbishop with generous hospitality, till he was otherwise provided for.

About two years afterward, the Primate gave a fresh proof of his piety and his resolution in forbidding the Book of Sports to be recited at Croydon, though the King had expressly ordered that it should be read in all churches and chapels.†

In 1619, Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the first stone of the hospital at Guildford in Surry, which Abbot endowed with lands to the value of 300*l. per ann.*, one third to be employed in setting the poor to work, and the remainder in maintaining a master, twelve brothers, and eight sisters; and the twenty-ninth of

* It was by means of this Prelate, that the Archbishop procured the transmission of Father Paul's 'History of the Council of Trent' to this country. Mr. Nathaniel Brent, by whom it was subsequently translated with some hazard to himself, succeeded in getting possession of the whole of the manuscript.

† Certain pastimes were permitted by authority on the Sabbath, after evening-service. Once authorised, however, it was easy to be foreseen, that they would not be confined by the lower classes to any particular hours; and accordingly this publication occasioned scenes of confusion and indecency, which disturbed the order of the whole day, and gave great and just offence to well-disposed Christians.

October, the anniversary of his Grace's birth, is still commemorated at this institution.

Toward the close of the year, the Elector Palatine accepted the crown of Bohemia, which occasioned great divisions in the English councils. Invited to the throne by the free voice of the people, he wanted only the support of the Protestant princes to maintain his election against his competitor.* Independently of the interests of Protestantism, it was natural to expect that James would powerfully assist his son-in-law; and, upon every principle of sound policy, he ought to have done it. These were the sentiments of the Primate. But the majority, who studied more obsequiously the royal temper, and knew that their master preferred inglorious ease to a hazardous struggle even for the best of causes, advised him not to interfere in the matter, as it must inevitably produce a war with Germany. The other Protestant powers, in consequence, withheld their promised succour; and with his small army, surrounded by the Imperialists, the Elector risked and lost the battle of Prague. The result was, the loss of his Electoral dominions; which the Emperor bestowed upon the Duke of Bavaria, a descendent of a younger branch of the family of the vanquished Palatine. For this base desertion of his son-in-law, James was deservedly despised in every court of Europe, and the honour of England was sullied for the remainder of his ignominious reign.

* Ferdinand, cousin to Matthias Emperor of Germany, had been elected the year before by the intrigues of the court of Vienna, and was crowned this year King of Hungary.

Henceforward the Archbishop, in consideration of his declining health, lived chiefly in the retirement of the country; and in 1622, an unhappy accident took place, which by the melancholy it induced, added heavily to his bodily infirmities. Having made a summer-excursion into Hampshire, he was invited by Lord Zouch to take the diversion of hunting in Bramshill Park; when the park-keeper hastily advancing a herd of deer, in order that the company might have the fairer mark, his Grace by a barbed arrow from his cross-bow, unfortunately wounded him in the left arm, in consequence of which he died the following day. In commemoration of this fatal mischance, during the remainder of his life, he kept a monthly fast on Tuesdays; and he settled an annuity of 20*l.* for life upon the widow.

The misfortune, however, had still more afflicting consequences; as (though James observed, that "an angel might have miscarried in this sort") some ambitious priests, hoping to be exalted by a change in the archiepiscopal see, strongly represented that by this irregularity he was incapacitated for performing the office of a Primate: upon which the King was under the necessity of appointing a commission, consisting of ten persons of the first rank in the church, the law, and the state, to inquire into the matter. The points referred to their decision were,

1. Whether the Archbishop was 'irregular'* (a

* "Upon this event (remarks Howell) a commission was awarded to debate whether upon the fact, whereby he hath shed human blood, he be not to be deprived of his Archbishopric and pronounced 'irregular.' Some were against him; but Bishop

term in the canon law) by the fact of involuntary homicide?

2. Whether that act might tend to scandal in a churchman?

3. How his Grace should be restored, in case the commissioners should find him 'irregular?'

After full investigation it was unanimously agreed that, admitting the 'irregularity' (concerning which they were divided) he could not be restored but by the King alone; and respecting the mode of restitution they again varied. The Bishop of Winchester, the Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, and Dr. Stewart the civilian, were of opinion that it should be done personally by the King. The Lord-Keeper (Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln) and the Bishops of London, Rochester, Exeter, and St. David's preferred a commission from the King directed to the Bishops. Judge Doddridge, and Sir Henry Martin, wished it might be done both ways, to serve as a precedent. In the end, the King passed a pardon and dispensation, by which he 'assoiled' the Archbishop of all irregularity, scandal, or infa-

Andrews and Sir Henry Martin stood stiffly for him, that 'in regard it was no spontaneous act but a mere contingency, and that there is no degree of men but is subject to misfortunes and casualties, they declared positively that he was not to fall from his dignity or function, but should still remain regular and *in statu quo prius*.' During this debate he petitioned the King, that 'he might be permitted to retire to his Alms-house at Guildford, where he was born, to pass the remainder of his life:' but he is now come to be again *rectus in curiâ*, absolutely quitted and restored to all things. But for the wife of him that was killed, it was no misfortune to her, for he hath endowed herself and her children with such an estate, that they say her husband could never have got." (9 Nov. 1622.)

mation, and declared him to be capable of the entire authority of a Primate.

After this however, though completely restored, in consequence of his increasing infirmities he seldom assisted at the council-board. Yet he occasionally, it appears, communicated his sentiments to the King on public measures with his usual integrity; for in a letter * preserved by Rushworth, after having condemned a design (then set on foot) of granting a toleration to Papists, he censures his Majesty for his imprudence in having permitted Prince Charles to go to Spain without the consent of the Council, or the approbation of the people: sensibly reminding him, that ‘ though he had an interest in that Prince as his son, the people had a still greater as the son of the kingdom; upon whom, next after himself, their eyes were fixed and their welfare depended.’ And with a prophetic spirit he foretells, that ‘ those who drew him into an action so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the nation, would not pass unquestioned or unpunished.’ As these were his sentiments, it is no wonder that he had Buckingham † for his enemy: but that favourite in vain attempted his disgrace. The King so highly venerated his character, that in his last illness he requested his attendance, and

* Some doubts, it ought to be added, are entertained of its genuineness.

† This nobleman he had originally, through the Queen, assisted to introduce to the royal favour; and he had at first received from him in return the appellation of ‘ Father,’ and the most vehement professions of eternal gratitude. He had speedily, however, occasion to conclude with the Roman historian, that ‘ benefits surpassing requital become occasions of hatred.’

scarcely suffered him to stir from his chamber till he expired.

The infatuated Charles, however, was no sooner seated on his throne; than he countenanced Buckingham's unmanly resentment: and a convenient opportunity speedily offered itself for the execution of their paltry revenge.

One Dr. Sibthorpe having preached a sermon at the Lent Assizes at Northampton in 1627, in which he maintained that 'the King might levy taxes without consent of parliament, and that the people were bound in conscience to acquiesce;' his Majesty ordered the sermon to be printed, and sent his directions to the Archbishop to license it. This his Grace (having perused the discourse, and being now more enlightened than he had been in the early part of his life upon the subject of civil liberty) absolutely refused to do, at the same time assigning his reasons. The Bishop of London was more compliant;* and the Secretary of State, Lord Conway, soon afterward personally signified to the Primate the royal pleasure, that he should retire to Canterbury. Having at that time, however, a law-suit depending against the corporation, he requested leave to withdraw to Ford, about five miles beyond Canterbury, which was granted: and in the month of October in the same year, the King issued a commission to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, empowering them to execute the archiepiscopal office. But the policy of the court would not suffer the Arch-

* Even by him, however, it was not licensed, till some violently exceptionable passages had been erased.

bishop, beloved as he was by the country, to remain long in this state of sequestration. Charles being in want of money, and finding it necessary to call a parliament, restored his Grace, on account of his interest with the representatives of the people, to the full possession of his authority. He returned to his post with the same notions of constitutional rights, and the same firmness in maintaining them. To the Petition of Right he gave his decided support: and when Dr. Mainwaring was brought to the bar of the House of Lords for having taken up Dr. Sibthorpe's doctrines, he officially reprimanded him, declaring that 'he abhorred his principles.' The influence of Laud however, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, had acquired such an ascendancy at court, that the Primate totally withdrew from it, perceiving himself to be an unwelcome guest. His final contest with his rivals in royal-favour was upon the following occasion:

Laud had drawn up some high-church regulations, which were transmitted to the Archbishop under the pompous title of 'His Majesty's Instructions to the most Reverend Father in God, George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,' containing certain orders to be put in execution by the several Prelates in his province. These his Grace communicated to his suffragan Bishops, at the same time endeavouring in various respects to soften their rigour. He does not appear, however, in any instance to have neglected his clerical duty, or to have betrayed the interests of the church over which he presided. One of his last official actions was, his ordering the parishioners of Crayford in Kent to receive the sacrament kneeling at the steps of the Communion-Table.

In consequence of his conduct with regard to the 'Instructions,' his Majesty, on the birth of his son Charles, consigned the honour of baptizing him to Laud. After this we hear little more of the Primate till 1633, when worn out with cares and infirmities, he died at Croydon. His remains were buried in the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where a stately monument was erected to his memory.

In most of the circumstances of his life, he showed himself a man of great moderation toward all parties; desirous that the clergy should rather attract esteem by the sanctity of their manners, than claim it by the authority of their function. His principles and conduct, however, not suiting the dispositions of some writers, they have thought proper to make severe reflexions upon both. Fuller, in his 'Church-History,' says, "that he forsook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity more than the clergy, in causes that were brought before him." Aubrey, having transcribed the inscription upon his monument, adds, "Notwithstanding this most noble character transmitted to posterity, he was (though a benefactor to this place) no friend to the church of England whereof he was head, but scandalously permitted that poisonous spirit of Puritanism to spread over the whole nation by his indolence at least, if not connivance and encouragement, which some years after broke out, and laid a flourishing church and state in the most miserable ruins; and which gave birth to those principles which, unless rooted out, will ever make this nation unhappy." The Earl of Clarendon has drawn the following picture of him: "Abbot considered the

Christian Religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the Articles or Canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care: and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin; and for his sake did not think so ill of the Discipline, as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private judgement be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him and at least equally preferred by him: and though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs, which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London (Dr. Laud) from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that University; yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party,* and who li-

* And yet Abbot observes, "Grotius might have let his Majesty know, how factious a generation these contradictors (the Remonstrants) are; how they are like to our Puritans in England; how refractory they are to the authority of the civil

censed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so filled by many weak and more wilful churchmen."

Upon the whole of this character, however, Speaker Onslow offers the following remarks: "The worthy Prelate did surely deserve a better representation to posterity. He was a very wise and prudent man, knew well the temper and disposition of the kingdom with respect to the ceremonies and power of the Church, and did therefore use a moderation in the point of ecclesiastical discipline, which if it had been followed by his successor (Laud), the ruin that soon after fell on the Church might very likely have been prevented. His being without any credit at court from the latter end of King James' reign will bring no dishonour on his memory, if it be considered that his disgrace arose from his dislike of and his opposition to the imprudent and corrupt measures of the court at that time, and from an honest zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, which seemed then to be in no small danger; and it was a part truly becoming the high station he then bore. His advice upon the affair of the Palatinate, and the Spanish match, showed his knowledge of the true interest of England, and how much it was at his heart: and his behaviour and sufferings in the next reign about the loan and Sibthorpe's sermon, as they were the reasons of his disgrace at that time, so ought they to render his memory valuable to all, who wish not to

magistrate, &c. &c." This does not, surely, look like favouring Puritanism!

see the fatal courses and oppression of those times revived in this nation. The Duke of Buckingham was his enemy, because the Archbishop would not be his creature; and the Church perhaps might have been thought to have been better governed, if he had stooped to the Duke, and given in to the wantonnesses of his power: but he knew the dignity of his character, and loved his country too well to submit to such a meanness; though very few of his brethren had the courage or the honesty to join with him in this, and (if the Archbishop himself is to be credited) his successor's rise was by the practice of those arts, which this good man could not bend to. As to his learning, we need no better testimony of it than his promotion by King James, who had too much affection that way to prefer any one to such a station, who had not borne the reputation of a scholar: but there are other proofs of his sufficiency in this, even for the high place he held in the Church. If he had some narrow notions in divinity, they were rather the faults of the age he had his education in, than his; and the same imputation may be laid on the best and most learned of the Reformers. His warmth against popery became the office of a Protestant Bishop; though even toward Papists there is a remarkable instance of his mildness and charity, which showed that his zeal against their persons went no farther than the safety of the state required. (See Rushworth, I. 243.) His parts seem to have been strong and masterly, his preaching grave and eloquent, and his stile equal to any of that time. He was eminent for piety, and a care of the poor; and his hospitality fully answered the injunction King James laid on him, which was, 'to carry his house nobly and to live like an Archbishop.' He had no

thoughts of heaping up riches: what he did save was laid out by him in the erecting and endowing of a handsome hospital for decayed tradesmen and the widows of such, in the town of Guildford in the county of Surry, where he was born and had his first education: and here I cannot omit taking notice, that the body of statutes drawn by himself for the government of that house is one of the most judicious works of that kind I ever saw, and under which for nearly one hundred years that hospital has maintained the best credit of any that I know in England. He was void of all pomp and ostentation, and thought the nearer the Church and churchmen came to the simplicity of the first Christians, the better would the true ends of religion be served; and that the purity of the heart was to be preferred, and ought rather to be the care of a spiritual governor than the devotion of the hands only. If under this notion some niceties in discipline were given up to goodness of life, when the peace of the Church as well as of the kingdom was preserved by it, 'twas surely no ill piece of prudence, nor is his memory therefore deserving of those slanders it has undergone upon that account. It is easy to see, that much of this treatment has been owing to a belief, in the admirers and followers of Archbishop Laud, that the reputation of the latter was increased by depreciating that of the former. They were, indeed, men of very different frames, and the parts they took in the affairs of both Church and State, as disagreeing. In the Church, moderation and the ways of peace guided the behaviour of the first; rigour and severity, that of the last. In the State, they severally carried the like principles and temper: the one made the liberty of the people, and the laws of the land,

the measure of his actions; when the other (to speak softly of it) had the power of the prince, and the exalting of the prerogative, only for the foundation of his. They were, indeed, both of them men of courage and resolution; but it was sedate and temperate in Abbot, passionate and unruly in Laud. It is not however to be denied, that many rare and excellent virtues were possessed by the latter: but it must be owned too, he seems rather made for the hierarchy of another Church, and to be the minister of an arbitrary prince; and the other to have had the qualifications of a Protestant Bishop, and the guardian of a free state.”*

The candour of Wellwood, likewise, has enabled him to do justice to the merit of the Primate in question. “Archbishop Abbot,” he observes, “was a person of wonderful temper and moderation, and in all his conduct showed an unwillingness to stretch the act of uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the Church, or the prerogative of the Crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the state. Being not well-turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable learning and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, stoop to the humour of the times; and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government.”

His Grace acquired a moderate share of reputation by his theological and polemical writings; but being upon subjects chiefly temporal, † they are of

* Russel's ‘Life of Abbot,’ Svo. Guildford, 1717.

† E. g. ‘Answer to the Questions of the Citizens of London

little account at present, except the two following:

1. '*Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Scholâ Theologicâ Oxoniæ pro formâ habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ anno 1597, in quibus è Sacrà Scripturâ et Patribus quid statuendum sit definitur.*' Oxoniæ 1598, *Francofurti* 1616, 4to.

2. 'Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain Sermons preached in St. Mary's church, Oxford;' London, 4to. 1600. These Sermons were reprinted in 1613, and are the most popular of his works.

He had an elder brother Robert, who after having filled the see of Salisbury, to which the Primate had the pleasure of consecrating him, died in 1617; equally esteemed for his piety and moderation, and for his theological works preferred to the Archbishop, as they are on more general subjects, and discussed with deeper erudition.

in Jan. 1600, concerning Cheapside Cross' (not printed until 1641); 'Reasons, which Dr. Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, unmasked and showed to be very weak,' Oxon. 4to. 1604; 'Funeral Sermon on Thomas Earl of Dorset,' May 26, 1608, 4to.; 'Short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Howard,' 1621, &c.

Of a more general nature were his 'Brief Description of the whole World,' 4to. 1617 (of which there have been several editions); 'Treatise of the perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church in all Ages,' 4to. 1624; 'Narrative, containing the true Cause of his Sequestration and Disgrace at Court, in two parts, written at Ford in Kent,' and printed in Rushworth's *Hist. Coll.* I. 438—461; 'History of the Massacre in the Valtoline,' printed in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, III; and 'Judgement on bowing at the Name of Jesus,' Hamb. 8vo. 1632.

In 1618, he and Sir Henry Savile jointly defrayed the expense of an edition of Bradwardin's 'Cause of God,' a work written against the Pelagians.

SIR EDWARD COKE,*

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

[1550—1634.]

THIS illustrious lawyer, son of Robert Coke Esq., was born at Milham in the county of Norfolk, in 1550. At ten years of age, he was sent to the free-school, Norwich; and thence removed to Trinity College, Cambridge. From Trinity College, after a residence of about four years, he migrated to Clifford's Inn, London; and, the year following, was entered a student of the Inner Temple. The first occasion of his rise, as we learn from Lloyd, was his stating the case of the Temple-cook so exactly that the whole bench took notice of him. At six years' standing he was called to the bar, a circumstance in that age deemed extraordinary. He has himself informed us, that the first cause he moved in the King's Bench was in Trinity Term, 1578; when he was counsel for Mr. Edward Denny, Vicar of North Ingham in the county of Norfolk, in an action of

* AUTHORITIES. Hume's *History of England*; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*; and *British Biography*.

Scandalum Magnatum brought against him by Henry Lord Cromwell.*

About the same time, he was appointed reader of Lyon's Inn, which office he held three years ; and his reputation increasing rapidly, he soon came into great practice. When he had been at the bar about seven years, he married Bridget, daughter and co-heiress of John Paston Esq., a lady of one of the best families in Norfolk, who brought him thirty thousand pounds. This connexion accelerated his advancement. The cities of Coventry and Norwich chose him their Recorder ; and he was engaged in all the important causes in Westminster Hall. He was, also, in high credit with the Lord Treasurer Burghley,† and was frequently consulted about the affairs of the Queen, to whom in 1592 he was appointed Solicitor. His large estate, combined with his eminent character, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was returned knight of the shire : in the parliament held 35 Eliz., he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons ; and, soon afterward, he was made Attorney General.

Having about this time lost his wife, by whom he had ten children, he in 1598 paid his addresses to Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and

* Of this remarkable cause an account is given in Coke's Reports.

† "Burghley," observes Mrs. Macaulay, "found so much solid judgement in him, that he promoted him before his own kinsman Bacon, whose law-learning he accounted somewhat superficial." It is to be lamented, that in his first official capacities, as solicitor and Attorney General, he too often gave a legal colouring to the most tyrannical of the minister's practices.

sister to Thomas Lord Burghley, subsequently Earl of Exeter. This new marriage, advantageous as it was in other respects, made no addition to his domestic felicity, as he and his lady were frequently on ill terms with each other. The very celebration of it, from an unfortunate circumstance by which it was attended, occasioned no small disquiet. In consequence of a number of irregular marriages, Archbishop Whitgift had about this period enjoined the Bishops of his province rigorously to prosecute all such persons as should offend in the solemnisation of their nuptials, in point either of form, of time, or of place. Whether Mr. Coke regarded his own and his lady's quality, and their being married with the consent of the family, as setting them above such restrictions or not, is uncertain: but they were married in a private house, without either banns or licence. These illustrious delinquents in consequence, with the Rev. Mr. Bothwell, Rector of Okeover in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burghley, and several others, were prosecuted in the Archbishop's court. On their submission by their proxies, however, they were absolved from excommunication, and the penalties consequent upon it; 'because,' adds the record, 'they offended not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point.'

The affair of most importance, in which as Attorney General he took a part during the reign of Elizabeth, was the prosecution of the Earl of Essex,*

* After laying open the nature of the treason, and the numerous favours which Essex had received from the Queen, he is said to have closed with these words: that "by the just judgement of

against whom he mingled the bitterest virulence (after the manner of the times) with the grossest adulation of the Sovereign. In May, 1603, he was knighted by James I.; and in the ensuing November, he managed the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Winchester, to which city the term had been adjourned from London on account of the plague. Against that distinguished, but unfortunate, man he inveighed with so much acrimony and scurrility, as justly and greatly lessened him in the general opinion.*

He soon afterward, however, obtained considerable

God he of his earldom should be Robert the last, that of a kingdom thought to be, Robert the first."

* In deference to the popular feeling, and in allusion to Coke's "Thou Viper, for I thou thee, thou traitor," Shakspeare (it has been generally believed) puts the following speech into the mouth of Sir Toby Belch, *Twelfth Night*, III. 4. 'Go, write in a martial hand, be crusty and brief: it is no matter how witty, so it be eloquent and full of invention. Taunt him with the licence of ink: *if thou thou'st him some thrice*, it shall not be amiss; and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down. Go about it: let there be gall enough in thy ink, though thou write with a goose-pen, no matter—about it.' And in a letter, written to him by Bacon after his fall, occurs the following passage: "As your pleadings were wont to insult even misery, and inveigh bitterly against the person, so are you still careless in this point to praise and disgrace upon slight grounds, and that suddenly; so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned, when the censure of a judge, coming slow but sure, should be a brand to the guilty and a crown to the virtuous. You will jest at any man in public, without any respect to the person's dignity, or your own. This disgraces your gravity, more than it can advance the opinion of your wit, and so do all your actions, which we see you do directly with a touch of vain-glory. You make the laws too much lean to your opinion, whereby you show yourself to be a legal tyrant, &c." He had, previously, pointed out to him *seve-*

credit by his sagacity in unravelling the dark scenes of the Gunpowder-Plot; and by his admirable management of the evidence against Sir Everard Digby, and the rest of the conspirators tried at Westminster June 27, 1605, and against Henry Garnett at Guildhall, on the twenty eighth of March following. His speech, indeed, upon the last trial many have considered as his master-piece.*

In the same year, he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.† After holding this post for seven years with great reputation, he was in 1613 made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council.

ral of his errors, and advised him to be 'duly humbled in his visitation.'

But he was, upon all occasions, grossly scurrilous. He told Mrs. Turner, the celebrated introductress of yellow starch (who was hanged in a ruff of that colour, for having been concerned in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury) that she was guilty of the Seven Deadly Sins; she was a w——e, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a *papist*, a felon, and a murtherer.' For farther proofs of his venomous acrimony, see the *State-Trials*, VII. 102., in the cause referred to p. 68. note (o). To all his abuse Raleigh only replied, that 'he spoke indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly;' and that 'it became not a man of quality and virtue to call him so.' That he did not, however, invariably deal in scurrility, appears from his blasphemously calling the Duke of Buckingham (afterward his bitter enemy) his 'Saviour,' on his return from Spain.

* It seems surprising how Catholic-writers, who are inclined to place tradition and even legendary history nearly on a level with Scripture, can deny the reality of this celebrated conspiracy.

† The motto which he gave upon his rings, when he was called to the degree of Serjeant, in order to qualify him for this promotion, was *Lex est tutissima cassis*; 'the law is the safest helmet.'

His profound skill in the common law enabled him to discharge the duties of his new and most important station with eminent ability. On the bench, he was above corruption; and he had this saying frequently in his mouth, that ‘a Judge should neither give nor take a bribe.’ As Attorney General, he had frequently been too ready to support the despotic projects of James and his ministers: but the court now found him, as Chief Justice, no friend to arbitrary measures, or, as they were then called, to the royal prerogative.

In 1614 Mr. Peacham, a clergyman, was accused of treason, for having inserted several passages reflecting on the ministry, in a sermon never preached, nor ever intended to be made public! The King, who was beyond measure jealous on this head, fearing that he might either be acquitted or not condemned to a capital punishment, had ordered Bacon, his Attorney General, to sound the judges beforehand, and gather their opinions apart. Coke, however, absolutely refused to declare his; justly regarding this ‘auricular taking of opinions’ (for so he termed it) as new, and of pernicious tendency. It was, indeed, directly contrary to his own sound maxim, that ‘he was a Judge in a court, and not in a chamber.’* In a cause likewise of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to whom the King had granted a vacant church *in commendam*, the Chief Justice behaved with exemplary firmness and integrity. Serjeant Chiborne, who was counsel against the Bishop, in arguing the case had maintained several positions, which were deemed derogatory from

* Notwithstanding this however, Mr. Peacham, it appears, was tried and convicted of high-treason.

the King's supreme power, considered as distinct from his ordinary authority. Upon this James, by his Attorney General, ordered the Judges to stay proceedings, till they had consulted with himself. But they unanimously determined, that 'they could not obey this order; that the letter, which they had received from his Majesty, was contrary to law; that, by their oath and the duty of their places, they were bound not to delay justice;* and that they should, therefore, proceed in the cause at the time fixed:' and of this they certified the King in a writing under all their hands. They received, in reply, from their offended Sovereign an angry letter, peremptorily commanding them to desist till his return to London. They were then summoned before the Council, and sharply reprimanded for having suffered the popular lawyers to question his prerogative; which was represented as 'sacred and transcendent, not to be handled in vulgar argument.' At last, raising his voice to frighten them into submission, he put this question to them severally: 'If at any time, in a case depending before the Judges, he conceived it to concern him either in profit or power, and thereupon required to consult with them, and that they should stay proceedings in the mean time, whether they ought not to stay them accordingly?' They all, the Chief Justice only excepted, acknowledged it to be their duty to do so. His answer deserves to be for ever remembered: 'That, when such a case happened, he would do that which should be fit for a Judge to do.' * .

About this time, Sir Edward Coke having deter-

* *Nulli vendemus, nulli negamus, aut differemus rectum vel justitiam.*

mined a particular case at common law, the plaintiff, who thought himself injured by his decision, applied to chancery for redress : the defendant disclaimed the authority of that court. In this he was supported by the Chief Justice, who threatened the Chancellor with a *præmunire*, grounded on a statute of 27 Edward III., for thus invading the limits of his jurisdiction. The King, who thought his prerogative struck at anew, in this attack on ‘the court of his absolute power,’ as Bacon stiled it, brought the matter before the Council, who passed a censure upon the Chief Justice. Nor is this to be wondered at, as they could correctly infer their royal master’s disposition from the hints which he had previously let fall in the Star-Chamber Court. “The mystery,” said James, “of the King’s power is not lawful to be disputed; for such a dispute seems to weed into the weakness of sovereigns, and diminishes the mystical reverence of those that sit on the throne of God.” To which he added the following advice to the judges: “Keep yourselves within compass; give me my right of private prerogative, I shall acquiesce. As for the prerogative of the crown, it is not for a lawyer’s tongue, nor lawful to be disputed. It is atheism to dispute what God can do; his revealed will ought to content us: so it is contempt in a subject, to dispute what a king can or cannot do. The law is his revealed will.” Thus did he, who in his first speech to his parliament after his accession declared himself only ‘the chief servant of the state,’ render his whole ignoble reign one continued struggle for power, disputing every inch of ground with his subjects, when they contended for their legal rights

against his idle claims of prerogative; and at the same time suffering the honour, as well as the rights of his crown to be insulted abroad, not only by the natural enemies of England, but also by her allies: leaving unpunished the most flagrant acts of depredation and cruelty, committed by foreigners on the persons and effects of his subjects, and yet prosecuting at home with unrelenting rigour all who presumed even to question his royal pleasure, although frequently opposed to the laws of the land.*

In 1615, when the King was deliberating upon the choice of a successor to Chancellor Egerton (Lord Ellesmere) Bacon, the personal and persevering enemy of Coke, cautioned him against giving the seals to the Chief Justice, as thereby he would "put an over-ruling nature into an over-ruling place, which might breed an extreme, and blunt his industries in matter of finances, which seemed to aim at another place—beside that popular men (he added) were no sure mounters for his Majesty's saddle." The animosities between these two illustrious characters are well known. Coke was jealous of Bacon's reputation in many parts of knowledge, and was envied by him in return for the high reputation which he had acquired in one. Coke was the greatest lawyer of his time; but he could be nothing more. If Bacon was not so,

* From an unpublished Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal, which has fallen under the Editor's eye, a spirited extract on the character of this Monarch (commencing with the *Liberati dentur populo suffragia* of the original) might be subjoined for the reader's amusement. Buchanan of course personates Seneca, and Charles I. is the Orestes of the passage.

we can ascribe it only to his aiming at a more exalted character ; not being able, or at least not willing, to confine the universality of his genius within one inferior province of learning.

In the same year, Sir Edward Coke was concerned in the judicial proceedings against the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, in which he exerted himself in a manner highly laudable. His enemies however, who were numerous and had formed a design to mortify him, took occasion, from some circumstances connected with the affair, to represent him in an unfavourable light both to the King and to the people. Many things, indeed, now concurred to hasten his disgrace. More particularly in his judicial capacity, his conduct had upon several occasions been extremely unfavourable to the despotic policy of the court ; and he had, likewise, highly offended the new favourite, Sir George Villiers.

The author of the notes on Wilson's 'Life of King James,' published in Kennet's 'Complete History of England,' observes, "That Sir Edward Coke lost the King's favour, and some time after his place, for letting fall some words upon one of the trials, importing his suspicions that Overbury had been poisoned to prevent the discovery of another crime of the same nature committed upon one of the highest rank, whom he termed 'a sweet Prince,' which was taken to be meant, of Prince Henry."

But whatever were the secret causes of his fall the manner of it was to the last degree humiliating, and shows how obnoxious he had made himself to the ministry of the day ; for, in 1616, he was in an unprecedented manner obliged to kneel before the Privy

Council at Whitehall, and hear from the lips of Yelverton (then Solicitor General) vague accusations of 'speeches of high contempt uttered in the seat of justice, and uncomely and undutiful carriage in the presence of his Majesty, the Council, and the Judges.' It must likewise be remembered, that he had a powerful enemy in Sir Francis Bacon, who had recently been raised to the dignity of Chancellor, and now joyfully seized the opportunity of at once recriminating against his old antagonist, and showing his zeal in the cause of his royal master.

Coke, however, most ably exculpated himself from the several charges brought against him, in support of which no evidence whatever was tendered: but his removal having been resolved upon, he was brought a second time to the council-board, when Winwood (one of the Secretaries of State) announced the royal determination:

1. That he should be sequestered from the council-table, until his Majesty's pleasure should be farther known;

2. That he should forbear to ride his summer-circuit as Justice of the Assize; and

3. That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately and dispose himself at home, he should review his books of Reports; wherein, as his Majesty was informed, were many extravagant and exorbitant opinions, set down and published for positive and good law: and having corrected what in his discretion he found meet in these Reports,* bring

* It does not appear, however, that he "found meet" to correct any part of them: but in respect to the other injunctions, he acknowledged them to 'proceed rather from his Majesty's

the same privately to himself, that he might consider thereof as in his princely judgement should be found expedient.* Soon afterward, he was cited before the Chancellor (Ellesmere), who imperiously forbade him Westminster Hall, and also ordered him to answer several exceptions against his Reports. In November, of the same year, the King dismissed him from his office of Lord Chief Justice. Upon this occasion, Bacon was heavily censured; not only for having accelerated his fall, but also for having insulted him after it by reproaches unworthy the gentleman, the philosopher, and the scholar, in a remonstrance, softened by the title of ‘An Admonitory Letter.’†

exceeding mercy than his justice;’ with mean and abject servility thanking the Lords of the Privy Council, for their ‘goodness toward him!’

* Among other things, James disliked the title of *those* books, wherein Coke stiled himself ‘Lord Chief Justice of England;’ whereas he could challenge no more, as it was alleged, than ‘Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench.’

† The whole of this Letter, in which the pique of a rival is but too discernible, is printed in the Supplement to ‘the Cabala.’ An extract has already been given above; and a second, as illustrative of Coke’s character, though from the pen of an enemy, is here subjoined: “Your too much love of the world is too much seen, when having the living of 10,000*l.*, you relieve few or none. The hand, that hath taken so much, can it give so little? Herein you show no bowels of compassion; as if you thought all too little for yourself, or that God had given you all that you have, only to that end you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but try how much you could gather to account for all at the great and general audit-day. We desire you to amend this, and let your poor tenants in Norfolk find some comfort, where nothing of your estate is spent toward their relief, but all brought up hither to the impoverishing of your country.” He then adds, that “in the case of Overbury he used too many delays, till the delinquent’s hands were loose and his own bound; and that he was too open in his proceedings,

The pretexts for Coke's removal were so frivolous, that he suffered no disgrace from it in the eyes of the people; and if he had shown upon this occasion the noble fortitude, which the public had a right to expect from his talents and his integrity, he might have ranked in the list of suffering patriots, whose virtues could not be endured in the palaces of despotic princes. But unfortunately either from a love of power, or more probably with a view of triumphing once more over the Chancellor, whom he had foiled at their outset, he was persuaded to take a mean step in order to recover the royal favour.

While he was Chief Justice, he had not only refused to give his daughter Frances in marriage to Sir John Villiers, the brother of the Duke of Buckingham, but had even treated the proposal with contempt. He now, however, submissively implored the rejected suitor to honour him with this alliance, and through Secretary Winwood, who had pronounced his sentence of disgrace, solicited the favourite (with many humiliating apologies for his former conduct) to promote the match. It took place accordingly, but not without considerable difficulty: for the mother, resenting his attempt to dispose of her daughter without her consent, carried off the young lady, and lodged her

and so taught them how to defend themselves." "But that," continues he, "which we commend you for, are those excellent parts of nature and knowledge in the law, which you are endued withal. But these are only good in their good use. Wherefore, we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the commonwealth's behalf; hoping it proceedeth not from 'a disposition to oppose greatness,' as your enemies say, but to do justice and deliver truth indifferently without respect of person."

at the house of one of her relations.* Upon this, Sir Edward immediately applied, through Buckingham, for a warrant from the Privy Council to reclaim her: but before he received an answer, discovering where she was, he went with his sons, and took her by force. The treaty now proceeded without obstruction; and, as a preliminary to its conclusion, Sir Edward by Buckingham's interest was reseated at the council-table. Soon afterward, the marriage was solemnised with great pomp at Hampton Court. It proved, however, an unhappy connexion; Sir John Villiers neglecting his wife, and she indulging in return a criminal passion for Sir Robert Howard. Sir Edward, blinded by ambition, had offered to Buckingham, that 'he should make his own terms upon the occasion;' and these were 10,000*l.* in money at two payments, beside an annual rent-charge of 2000 marks during the father's life, and 900*l. per ann.* during that of Lady Hatton if she survived her husband, with the manor of Stoke in Buckinghamshire (valued at the latter sum) after both their deaths! By this settlement, Coke's income was inconveniently diminished, and the quarrel between him and his lady brought to an open rupture. Many letters (still extant) which passed between them about the time of their daughter's marriage, show not only their bitter animosity, but likewise that several persons of distinction made themselves parties in the quarrel; when at length, in July 1621, the King himself taking upon him to adjust their differences, a reconciliation was effected.

* Sir Edmund Withipole, near Otlands.

Sir Edward could not, indeed, be re-instated in his office, as James had bestowed it upon Sir Henry Montagu; but he was employed in several affairs of importance: and particularly in 1619 he was commissioned, with some others, to meet the deputies of the States General at a conference concerning the dispute existing between the Dutch and the English East-India Companies.

In 1621, his Majesty called a Parliament, of which Coke was chosen a member. He now distinguished himself by a noble exertion of his talents and influence, in support of the privileges of parliament against the usurped power of the Crown. Against many of the court-measures he declaimed with great warmth; observing, that ‘the Papists were at the root of all the calamities of England, and that no royal proclamation could contravene the tenor of Acts of Parliament. The privileges of parliament, he asserted, were a part of the constitution, subsisting independently of the prerogative: they were, in fact, the rights of the subject; and no proclamation could be of any force against one of its Acts.’ He recommended, that ‘the statute passed under Edward III. for holding a parliament every year, to give the people an opportunity of urging their grievances, should be enforced.’ He, likewise, vindicated the right of freedom of speech in that assembly, and vigorously recommended a Committee to inquire into the state of the nation.

In consequence of this spirited behaviour, the Commons began to take the measures of government into consideration: upon which the King, with his usual jealousy concerning his prerogative, issued a proclamation forbidding all persons ‘to intermeddle

by pen or speech with state-concernments and secrets of empire, either at home or abroad, which were not fit themes or subjects for vulgar persons or common meetings;' broadly suggested to the parliament, that 'matters of state, as above their comprehension, ought to be left entirely to his own princely wisdom;' and farther intimated, that 'the liberty of speech claimed by them, as well as their other privileges, proceeding entirely from royal grace and favour, might be resumed at pleasure.' At this unconstitutional language it was high time for the House to be alarmed in their turn. Accordingly, the following resolution, passed by a very great majority, was ordered to be entered in their Journals: 'The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties and franchises and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament: and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgement shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said House hath like freedom

from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (except by censure of the House itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament-business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be showed to the King by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in parliament, before the King give credit to any private information.'

The King, who was in the country when this protestation was made, instantly hurried to town, and sending for the Commons' Journals, tore it out with his own hand; declaring it to be null and void, and ordering his reasons to be inserted in the council-book. He, also, prorogued the parliament; and soon afterward Sir Edward Coke was committed to the Tower, his chambers in the Temple broken open, and his papers delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Wilson for examination. On the sixth of January following, parliament was dissolved; and the same day, Coke was accused before the Council of having suppressed some true examinations in the cause of the Earl of Somerset, and obtruded false ones in their place. But, as they were unable to support these allegations by evidence, they could find no pretence for detaining him in custody: their resentment, therefore, was limited to striking him off once more from the list of Privy Councillors.*

Toward the close of the year 1623, however, he

* The King at the same time declaring, that "he was the fittest instrument for a tyrant that ever was in England:" and yet, says Wilson, he had recently in the House called the royal prerogative 'an overgrown monster!'

was placed at the head of a commission, appointing sundry persons therein named to go over to Ireland and regulate the affairs of that kingdom, which were then in great confusion. The powers granted to the Commissioners were very ample, and the promotion appeared to be highly honourable to their principal: but under the conviction that it was only intended to remove him from the service of his country in parliament, he refused to accept the appointment; and he consequently fell into disgrace with the court, during the short remainder of James' reign.

The same fate attended him on the succession of Charles I., whose ministers, apprehensive of a powerful opposition under his influence, advised the new Monarch to take an unfair method of preventing his being elected to serve in his first parliament. After having held employments under government of the first dignity, it was transgressing all the rules of decency and custom to oblige him to serve the office of High Sheriff: this, however, they now insisted upon, menacing him with a heavy fine in case of refusal. His legal objections to the oath were over-ruled by the Judges; and he was compelled to attend as High Sheriff at those assizes, where he had frequently presided as Chief Justice!

But the parliament proving refractory, and insisting on a redress of grievances before they would grant supplies to carry on the war, which had been declared against Spain and the Emperor of Germany in 1624, they were dissolved after a short session of seven weeks; and a second was called, in 1626. The Commons continuing, however, to re-

monstrate against the Duke of Buckingham's administration, and against the King's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage independently of their authority, it was likewise dissolved, without having passed a single act, after a session of four months. During that time, they had preferred to the Upper House, by the hands of Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, an impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham; and the King had opened the first act of his own tragedy, by causing those two members to be committed to the Tower. Thither, likewise, the Earl of Bristol was sent on the very day of the dissolution, for having exhibited articles of high-treason in the House of Lords against the same unworthy favourite.

These measures having justly occasioned general discontent, Charles issued a ridiculous declaration, containing the pretended causes of his dissolving the two last parliaments. At the same time appeared an unconstitutional Order of Council, authorising the levying of tonnage and poundage by virtue of the royal prerogative. Various other methods likewise, such as the sale of the crown-lands, loans, and ship-money,* were adopted by the King to raise supplies. Several gentlemen were committed to the common gaols of the kingdom, for having refused to lend his Majesty money; and some citizens of distinction were pressed for soldiers on the same account.

All these schemes, however, proving ineffectual to answer the end proposed, which was to govern

* Of the last of these a more particular account will be given in the Life of Hampden.

without calling together the representatives of the people, the ministry found themselves under the necessity of assembling a third parliament in March, 1628; and as it was impossible by any stratagem to exclude Sir Edward Coke, he was now elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks; in which capacity he contended most intrepidly for the redress of grievances of every description.

At length the five following gentlemen, whose names deserve to be for ever recorded with honour, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbett, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay some illegal contributions, determined at their own expense and peril to assert the liberty of the subject, and to demand their discharge not as a matter of favour (which some had foolishly done, by petition to the King) but as their right by the laws of the land. Their claim was agitated in the Court of King's Bench, where the Judges refused either to set them at liberty, or to accept unexceptionable bail; Heath, the Attorney General, requiring from the Court a general judgement, 'that no bail could be granted upon a commitment by the King and Council.' But the Judges did not choose to carry their compliance to such an extremity. Upon this occasion, Sir Edward Coke distinguished himself in the House of Commons by an elaborate speech, in which he directed the whole force of his logic to prove, that 'if Englishmen might be imprisoned at the will of the Monarch, then were they in worse case than bondmen or villains.' This he demonstrated by a chain of unanswerable arguments, both from reason and from law. He next entered upon a deep

discussion of the principles of the constitution in point of personal liberty; and concluded by showing, that ‘no virtuous operations of state could be affected by leaving to subjects that jewel, which distinguishes not only freemen from slaves, but the living from the dead.’

In consequence of his spirited conduct, which had deterred the Judges indeed from entering the above-mentioned general judgement, the House resolved, that ‘some new law should be enacted for the better securing of the rights and privileges of the people.’ Previously, however, to bringing in a bill for this purpose, it was thought proper to draw up a declaration of those rights and privileges, and to present it to the King, under the denomination of ‘THE PETITION OF RIGHT,’ praying among other particulars,

1. That no loan or tax might be levied, but by consent of parliament;

2. That no man might be imprisoned, but by legal process;

3. That soldiers might not be quartered on people against their wills; and

4. That no commissions might be granted for executing martial law.

Sir Edward had a principal hand in framing this celebrated Petition, and in advising the Commons not to trust any longer to the King’s evasive replies. In the course of the various debates upon the subject, he made the following manly remarks: “Was it ever known, that general words were a sufficient satisfaction for particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the King (esteemed to be) the word of the Sovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to re-

dress them. Did ever the parliament rely on messages? They have ever put up petitions of their grievances: and the King has ever answered them. The King's message is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm? That is the question. I put no diffidence in his Majesty, but the King must speak by record, and in particulars. Did you ever know the King's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding Kings will say, 'Ye must trust me, as ye did my predecessor, and ye must have the same confidence in my messages.' But messages of love never come into a parliament. Let us put up A PETITION OF RIGHT: not that I distrust the King; but that I cannot give trust, but in a parliamentary way."

This Petition the King was extremely unwilling to pass into a law. The Lords sent down propositions to the Commons, in which the prerogative was preserved, and the ministry were privileged to oppress the subject, under pretence of reasons of state. Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, assured them that his Majesty had commanded him to let them know, that 'he held the statute of *Magna Charta*, and the other six statutes which had been insisted on, to be in full force, and that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons and safety of their estates; that he would govern them according to the laws and statutes of the realm; and that they should find as much security in his Majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law they could make; so that, hereafter, they should have no cause to complain. But this did not suffice: the Commons inflexibly adhered to their resolution of having a public remedy.

as there had been a public grievance ; upon which his Majesty not very graciously replied, that ‘ he was content a bill should be drawn for a confirmation of *Magna Charta* and the other six statutes, if they chose that as the best way, but so as it might be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations.’ This bill, however, still met with delays ; and the Commons were again urged by the Secretary to rely on the royal word. The King, likewise, addressed a letter to the House of Peers, in which he declared, ‘ that without the overthrow of the sovereignty, he could not suffer the power of commitment without showing cause to be impeached ;’ upon which, the Lords expressed a wish to amend the bill, by adding a saving clause with respect to the sovereign power in extraordinary cases. But this was rejected ; and the two Houses having in the end agreed, the PETITION OF RIGHT was read the first time on the second of June, 1628 ; and the King’s answer was thus delivered to it : “ The King willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm ; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties ; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.” This answer did not satisfy the Commons, who saw through the evasion ; and the King insisted, for some time, that ‘ he would give no other.’ At last, upon the petition of both Houses, he replied in the usual form, *Soit droit fait comme il est desiré*, ‘ Let justice be done as it is desired ;’ and in this they, of course, acquiesced..

But, though Charles was thus constrained to give

the royal assent to this important measure, he took care to show how displeasing the conduct of parliament had been: and in order to intercept any farther molestation from that quarter, he informed the Lower House, through their Speaker, Sir John Finch, that he had fixed a day for putting an end to their session, and therefore required that they should not enter upon any new business, or lay any aspersions on the government or it's ministers. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot with his accustomed freedom threw out some reflexions on the Duke of Buckingham; upon which the Speaker rose, and addressed him in these words: "There is a command upon me, that I must command you not to proceed." For some minutes a profound silence, the effect of astonishment, ensued: at length it was resolved, in a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration what was to be done upon this extraordinary occasion; and it was ordered that 'no member should quit the house, on pain of being sent to the Tower.' The Speaker however, desiring to withdraw, had leave so to do; and Mr. Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke for the last time stood forth an able champion in the cause of his country. The speech, which he then delivered, does honour to his memory:

"We have dealt with that duty and moderation that never was the like, *rebus sic stantibus*: after such a violation of the liberties of the subject, let us take this to heart. In the 30 Edward III., were they then in doubt in parliament to name men that misled the King? They accused John de Gaunt the King's son, and Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil for misadvising the King; and they went to the Tower for it.

Now, when there is such a downfall of the state, shall we hold our tongues? How shall we answer our duties to God and men? The 7 Henry IV. (Parl. Rot. No. 31, 32) and the 11 Henry IV. (No. 13) there the Council are complained of, and are removed from the King: they mewed up the King, and dissuaded him from the common good; and why are we now retired from that way we were in? Why may we not name those, that are the cause of all our evils? In the 4 Henry III., the 27 Edward III., and the 13 Richard II., the parliament moderated the King's prerogative; and nothing grows to abuse, but this House hath power to treat of ~~it~~. What shall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries; and till the King be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour, or sit with honour here. That man is the grievance of all grievances: let us set down the causes of all our disasters, and all will reflect upon him."

The Duke of Buckingham survived this debate only two months. But his untimely death made no alteration in the conduct of Charles; who being resolved to stake his crown in support of what he called 'his prerogative,' would endure no one in office except such as were tainted with the same principles: and in Richard Lord Weston, whom he created Earl of Portland and promoted to the office of Lord High Treasurer, Wentworth Earl of Strafford Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, he found the agents he required. For the parliament meeting again in January 1629, and proceeding with increased earnestness upon their grievances

instead of settling the duties of tonnage and poundage, on the King for life, as he had demanded, he by one rash action proclaimed war against the inherent rights of his people. The Commons having prepared a remonstrance against the conduct of some custom-house officers who had seized the merchandise of Mr. Rolles for objecting to pay those duties, warrants were issued by the Privy Council against such of their members as had been most active in drawing it up. Four of them were brought before the Council, and refusing to be answerable for what they said or did in parliament, were committed to the Tower. The customary expedient was then resorted to, of dissolving the parliament; and prosecutions were set on foot against the criminated members in the Court of Star-Chamber. Those of them, who were imprisoned in the Tower, were denied the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus*; and rejecting the offers of the ministry to release them upon their submission, one of them, Sir John Elliot, died in confinement.

Here let it be observed, that most of our historians, in discussing the tragical events of those unhappy times, have taken up the question respecting the aggressors in this "civil fury" at a wrong period. The true era of the King's virtual declaration of war against his subjects, which renders their subsequent resistance constitutional, is that of his seizing Mr. Rolles' effects, and imprisoning the members of the House of Commons for having done their duty in parliament. And, surely, no man can hesitate as to the appellation befitting Charles, when he finds it upon record that virtuous representatives of the people, for having bravely refused to betray their trust, (either by abandoning the rights of those whom they had sworn to

defend, or by making dastardly concessions to a profligate ministry) were thrown into a dungeon by a prince, who had solemnly pledged himself at his coronation to govern according to the laws and customs of the realm.

Sir Edward Coke, after the dissolution of this parliament, resided in the country; and no other being called during the remainder of his life, died in retirement at Stoke-Pogis in Buckinghamshire in 1634, in his eighty fifth year; repeating, with his last breath, ‘Thy kingdom come, thy will be done.’ The resentment of the court however was carried to such a pitch against him, that while he lay ~~upon~~^{on} his death-bed, Sir Francis Windebank, one of the Secretaries of State, by an Order of Council searched his house for seditious and dangerous papers; and under colour of that pretext feloniously carried off his ‘Commentary upon Littleton,’ with his Life prefixed, written with his own hand; his ‘Commentary upon Magna Charta,’ &c.; his ‘Pleas of the Crown,’ and his ‘Jurisdiction of Courts;’ his Eleventh and Twelfth Reports, and fifty one other manuscripts:” beside his last will, in which he had for several years been making provision for his younger grand-children. These books and papers were detained, till one of his sons moved the House of Commons, in 1641, for their restoration; which the King granting, such of them as could be found were delivered up: but his will was never recovered.

Sir Edward Coke, ‘as Dr. Aikin observes, was undoubtedly a great lawyer; but he was merely a lawyer. His mind possessed neither the enlargement of philosophy, nor the comprehension of true science. He

had learning, but for want of taste it degenerated into mere pedantry. His speeches, interlarded with Latin quotations and quaintnesses of expression, are poor specimens of eloquence, though many of them are close and weighty in point of argument. 'In mere legal learning he has, perhaps, no competitor: but he is essentially defective in the higher merits of order and systematic arrangement, and in that regard to general principles, without which municipal law is a mere collection of arbitrary rules undeserving of the name of science. In these important qualities, for which it must be owned that the writers on English law have seldom been much distinguished, he is excelled by some who preceded, and by many who have followed him. Yet it is by no means difficult to account for the high reputation, which his works have acquired, and which they still retain. The writings of Sir Edward Coke, particularly his most celebrated work, the 'Commentary on Littleton's Treatise on Tenures,' are an immense repository of legal erudition; and must have been of the greatest use to students and practisers, at a time when abridgements and compilations, those modern helps to professional learning, were almost unknown. Though, from various changes in the system and practice of the English law, his labours have lost much of their comparative value, his prescriptive title to fame is still zealously maintained by a numerous and powerful profession. Those writers (it has been observed) are fortunate, whose reputation is connected with the interest and honour of a perpetual order of men; and as the scientific study of law forms no part of an English education, the blind praises which are lavished

upon Coke by his professional admirers have seldom provoked the censure or opposition of more impartial critics.

In his person he was well-proportioned, and his features were regular. He was neat, but not nice, in his dress; for it was his maxim, that 'the cleanliness of a man's clothes ought to put him in mind of keeping all clean within.' He had singular quickness of parts, deep penetration, a faithful memory, and a solid judgement. 'Matter,' he was wont to say, 'lay in a small compass;' and accordingly he was concise in his pleadings, though in his set speeches and his writings too diffuse. He valued himself, not unreasonably, that he had become successively Solicitor and Attorney General, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chief Justice of both Benches, High Steward of Cambridge, and a Member of the Privy Council, without either begging or bribing. Deriving from the law his fortune, his credit, and his greatness, he loved it to a degree of intemperance; and committed to writing every thing relating to it with an industry beyond example. And so signally was he honoured by it's professors in return, that when he was prosecuted in the reign of James I., Sir John Walter (though Attorney General to Prince Charles, and therefore almost officially engaged against him) indignantly threw aside the brief, which had been sent to him by the court, with this remarkable sentence: "Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, whenever I open it against Sir Edward Coke."

From making the best of his disgraces, King James used to compare him to a cat, who always falls upon her feet. He was, upon occasion, stre-

nuously a friend to the clergy. An eminent Peer, during his loss of office, being inclined to question the right of the church of Norwich, he told him plainly, that 'if he proceeded, he would put on his cap and gown again, and follow the cause through Westminster Hall.' He had many benefices in his own patronage, which he is said to have given freely to men of merit; declaring in his own technical language, that 'he would have law-livings pass by livery and seisin, and not by bargain and sale.'

His reputation, as a writer, is so firmly established in our courts, that his works are deemed irrefragable. Of the principal of them the following is a list :

I. The 'First Part of the Reports* of Sir Edward Coke, Knight, her Majesty's Attorney-General, of diverse resolutions and judgements, given with great deliberation by the reverend judges and sages of the law, of cases and matters in law, which were never resolved or adjudged before. And the reasons and causes of the said resolutions and judge-

* When his three first volumes were published, there were only fifteen previous volumes extant! Between the collective state of the law at present, and it's state in his time, the disproportion downward is as great, as upward between the latter and the Twelve Tables. Viner, adds Granger, has *abridged* the modern Code into TWENTY TWO FOLIO VOLUMES! and Sir William Blackstone, like an expert chemist, has drawn off the spirit, and left the *caput mortuum* for the benefit of the lawyers. "The late publication of the Journals of the House of Commons," observes Barrington, "shows that Coke did not prostitute his amazing knowledge of the municipal law to political purposes; as he generally argues in the same manner, and from the same authorities which he cites in his Institutes." (*Observations on the Statutes.*)

ments during the most happy reign of the most illustrious and renowned Queen Elizabeth, &c.' From the preface it appears, that this work was published about the year 1600. The Second and Third Parts of his Reports were published in the same reign. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Parts appeared at different times under James I.; and these are all, that were published by himself. The Twelfth Part has a printed certificate prefixed, dated February 2, 1655, and subscribed 'E. Bulstrode,' purporting that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The Thirteenth Part is entitled, 'Select Cases in Law, reported by Sir Edward Coke;' and these are asserted to be his in a preface, signed with the initial letters J. G.

II. A 'Book of Entries, folio, 1614, intended as a Supplement to his Reports.'

III. Institutes of the Laws of England, in four parts: The First containing his translation and comment upon Sir Thomas Littleton's 'Tenures,' published in 1628; the Second, *Magna Charta* and other select statutes, with a commentary full of excellent learning; the Third, the Criminal Law, or Pleas of the Crown; and the Fourth, the Jurisdiction of all the Courts in the Kingdom, from the high court of parliament down to the court-baron. Some inaccuracies in this last part were corrected by William Prynne in a separate work published in 1669. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth editions of the Institutes (1788, 1789, and 1794) by Hargrave and Butler, are the best.

Several smaller tracts of his, also, have been pub-

lished ; particularly, ‘ a Treatise of Bail and Main-prize,’ 4to. 1637, the ‘ Complete Copyholder,’ 4to. 1640, and ‘ Readings on the Statute of Fines, 27 Edward I.’ 4to. 1662.

BEN JONSON.*

[1574—1637.]

THE commercial spirit, which animated the main body of the nation in the days of Elizabeth, and operated still more widely as well as more powerfully in those of James, was highly unfavourable to the cultivation of the polite arts. Engrossed by their new colonies, which now began to repay the proprietors with profit, the people eagerly embarked with the hopes of similar success in mercantile adventures: and as to the nobility and gentry from the accession of James to the death of Charles, involved in religious or political disputes, or occupied in the improvement of their estates, they had neither time nor inclination to patronise those pursuits, which embellish kingdoms and refine society. The favourite public amusements were those of the theatre, and therefore dramatic poetry met with encouragement; but sculpture, painting, and music were confined within the narrow circle of the court. James had a taste for architecture, and took under his protection Inigo Jones. By Charles, who possessed a more than

* **AUTHORITIES.** *General Biographical Dictionary*; and Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*.

ordinary skill in the liberal arts, this illustrious builder was continued in the royal service: the celebrated Flemish masters likewise, Sir Peter Paul Rubens and Vandyke, were invited to England by the same Sovereign, who united the latter to one of his kinswomen. Of subjects, the most distinguished at this time in their patronage of the polite arts, were the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, and Archbishop Laud.*

Ben Jonson, or Johnson (for so he, and some of his friends, wrote his name) was the posthumous son of a clergyman in Westminster, where he was born June 11, 1574, about a month after his father's death. His family was originally from Annandale in Scotland, whence his grandfather removed to Carlisle in the reign of Henry VIII., under whom he held some office. His father was imprisoned and lost his estate in the time of Queen Mary, probably on account of religion: After the accession of Elizabeth, he entered into holy orders. Benjamin was first put to a private school in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields; and removed thence, at a proper age, to the royal foundation at Westminster, where Camden became his master. For this illustrious preceptor he ever retained the highest respect, and beside dedicating to him one of his best plays, commemorates him in one of his epigrams as the person to whom he owed all he knew. His mother however, on account of her narrow circumstances, having thought fit to accept for her second husband

* It may be added that Lawes, an eminent musician, was a particular favourite of Charles I., and was styled by his royal patron, the 'Father of English Music.'

a bricklayer, removed him (notwithstanding his extraordinary progress in classical learning) from this illustrious seminary, and obliged him to work under his step-father.*

But his spirit was not of a temper to accommodate itself to so mortifying a change. He resolutely left his home; and after a short time spent at Cambridge, whence his poverty compelled him to withdraw, joined the English army, then engaged against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory, which rarely falls to the lot of a private soldier. In an encounter with a single enemy, he slew his opponent, and carried off the spoils in the view of both armies. Of this achievement he was naturally, ever afterward, not a little proud.

Upon his return to England, he followed the bent of his inclination; and resuming his studies, entered himself of St. John's College,† Cambridge. But here he had speedily the misfortune to encounter a second mortification. The scantiness of his purse not supplying him with the decent conveniences of

* Fuller informs us that he was employed in the new structure of Lincoln's Inn (the garden-wall next to Chancery Lane, built, according to Dugdale in 1588 or 1593) with a trowel in his hand, and a Horace in his pocket. In this situation, Wood adds, he was assisted by some generous gentlemen, who saw and pitied his unworthy degradation.

† Aubrey says, he was of Trinity College; but, beside that tradition assigns him to St. John's, there are in the library of the latter College several books with his name in them given by himself. That name, however, does not occur either in the public or the private registers of the University; as there was, about this time, a considerable chasm in their records.

learned ease, he found himself under a necessity, after a short stay, of again quitting the seat of the Muses; and was admitted as an actor at an obscure play-house, called the Green Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch and Clerkenwell. He had not been long in this station, before he commenced author, and wrote some pieces for the stage. But his performances either way did little credit to his genius: by his contemporary Decker his acting is censured as awkward and mean, and his temper as rough and untractable.

During his continuance in this humble station, he fought a duel with one of his brother-players, who had sent him a challenge, and having killed his adversary, though his sword was ten inches longer than his own,* was thrown into prison, and (as he himself told Drummond) ‘almost at the gallows.’ His spirit sunk into melancholy by his misfortune, he became a fit object for the crafty attacks of a Popish priest, who officiously visited him in his confinement, and prevailed upon him to become a Roman Catholic.† Not long afterward, he got his freedom, and a wife, who (to adopt his own expression) was ‘a shrew, yet honest to him.’ With his liberty, his spirit returned; and in defiance of all discouragements, he continued digging in the poetic mine, and by dint of unparalleled industry at length produced a play, which having fortunately fallen into the hands of

* This, as Sir Egerton Brydges notices in one of those curious volumes, of which only a few copies issue from his private press, was Marlow the poet. Jonson appears to have carried the same spirit of warfare into the literary republic.

† He remained twelve years within the pale of that church.

Shakspeare, that good-natured bard employed his interest to bring it upon the stage,* and acted a part in it himself. It is even said, that he occasionally assisted him in finishing some of his subsequent pieces;† but the genius and qualifications of the two dramatists were so dissimilar, that little harmony could result from the union. In Jonson's plays, as they have come down to us, we discern few traces of the hand of Shakspeare.

Thus encouraged, his genius ripened apace, and his comedy entitled, 'Every Man in his Humour,' made it's appearance on the same stage in 1598. It was followed, the next year, by 'Every Man out of his Humour;' a work, however, of much less design and action than it's predecessor. In this manner he continued annually furnishing a new play, till he was called off by the masques and entertainments made for the reception of James I. on his accession to the English throne.† In this employ he was retained

* The Globe, in Southwark, where the actors were then considered as the Lord Chamberlain's servants. It was not till 1603, that they obtained a royal licence.

† Of these, 'Cynthia's Revels,' a comic satire of little or no plot, of which the characters may be regarded as Vices or Passions personified, was acted in 1600 by the children or choristers of Queen Elizabeth's chapel. His next performance entitled 'Poetaster,' a work of nearly the same description, was acted by the same little troop of admirable comedians in the following year. It was the Dunciad of that day, in which Decker, according to Dryden (or, as by some it has been surmised, Marston) is severely lashed, under the character of 'Crispinus.' In it, with flames too long smothered, he burst over the heads of rivals and detractors of every description, poetical, military, legal, and histrionic; and, of course, provoked a host of antagonists. He wrote an apologetical epilogue, breathing a spirit worthy of himself; but that was a spirit too haughty to be

upon all occasions, during the remainder of his life. Inigo Jones was his associate, in designing suitable devices; an office, which he appears to have executed with delicacy and magnificence. And yet, during the greater part of the thirty years, in which they jointly administered to the royal pleasures, the two colleagues appear to have been constantly at variance.

But these slighter labours did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition prompted him to the weightier works of the drama. His tragedy, entitled 'Sejanus,' was represented by the King's servants in 1608. The parts, however, added by Shakspeare, who took a part in the exhi-

relished by contemporary jealousy, and the town would not suffer the composition to be repeated. Under the character of his favourite 'Horace' he describes himself, as "a mere sponge. Nothing but humours and observations, he goes up and down sucking from every society, and when he comes home squeezes himself dry again. He will pen all he knows. He will sooner lose his best friend, than his least jest." To Jonson's satire Decker made a bitter retort in the Horace Junior of his 'Satiromastrix,' represented soon afterward by the children of St. Paul's, in which he seemed to have caught some portion of his adversary's spirit.

To prove the great liberty, which Jonson allowed himself in personal satire (says D'Israeli, on the authority of Howell) he lampooned even his benefactor; and Sutton, the founder of the Charter-House School and Hospital was 'Volpone,' or the Fox. And that he could even condescend to bring obscure individuals on the stage, appears from his character of Carlo Buffon, in 'Every Man out of his Humour,' which was intended (as the Aubrey papers state) for "one Charles Chester, a bold impertinent fellow—a perpetual talker, that made a noise like a drum in a room: so one time at a tavern Sir Walter Raleigh beats him, and seals up his mouth, that is, his upper and nether board, with hard wax."

bition, were omitted on it's subsequent publication in 1605. In the latter year came out, also, his 'Volpone, or the Fox;' a comedy, which though finished in the short space of five weeks, is for it's interest, admirable conception, and inimitable execution surpassed by few productions of a similar nature. Indulging the sourness of his temper, he next produced a satirical piece, called, 'Eastward Ho,' containing some satirical reflexions upon the Scottish nation. For this both he and his coadjutors, Chapman and Marston, were committed to prison, and incurred the risk of losing their ears and noses in the pillory.* They had the good fortune, however, to obtain a pardon, probably through the intercession of Camden and Selden.

To retrieve this fault, Jonson almost wholly sacrificed both his time and his muse to masques for some years; so that his next play did not appear till 1609. But for the length of this interval he made some amends by the perfection of the work, to which it gave birth. It was entitled, 'Epicœne, or the Silent Woman;' and was generally esteemed the most finished drama, which England had at that period produced. The next year he brought out 'The Alchemist,' one of his best comedies; perversely followed, in 1611, by his 'Catiline,'

* At an entertainment, which he gave to his friends (including Camden and Selden) upon his release, his mother drank to him, and with the guilty vigour of a Roman spirit showed him a paper of poison, which she had intended to divide with him, had not the ignominious sentence been annulled. From this play, it may be remarked, Hogarth took the plan of his Industrious and Idle Apprentices.

“a specimen,” as Dr. Hurd observes, “of all the errors of tragedy.” Of this, however, as well as of his ‘Sejanus,’ he himself entertained a high opinion.

In 1613, on a visit to Paris, he was admitted to an interview with Cardinal Perron; whose version of Virgil, with his natural bluntness and sincerity, he pronounced “a bad one.” His ‘Bartholomew Fair,’* acted in 1614, was succeeded by ‘The Devil’s an Ass,’ in 1616. In the same year, he published his works in a folio volume, including his epigrams, of which several had been written a long time; and the Poet Laureat’s salary,† of an hundred marks *per ann.* was settled upon him by his Sovereign for life, “in consideration of the good and acceptable service heretofore done, and hereafter to be done, by the said Benjamin Jonson.” He had now obtained so much reputation, that he saw the most distinguished wits of his time courting his acquaintance.

* In this (intended, principally, to ridicule Inigo Jones) there is, perhaps, the greatest assemblage of characters ever compressed within the compass of a single play. “Whether Jones or Jonson,” says Horace Walpole, “was the aggressor, the turbulent temper of Jonson took care to be most in the wrong. Nothing exceeds the grossness of the language, that he poured out, except the badness of the verses that were the vehicle. There he fully exerted all that brutal abuse, which his contemporaries were willing to think wit, because they were afraid of it; and which only serves to show the arrogance of the man, who presumed to satirise Jones, and to rival Shakspeare. With the latter, indeed, he had not the smallest pretensions to be compared, except in having sometimes written absolute nonsense. Jonson translated the ancients; Shakspeare transfused their very soul into his writings.”

† The office was at that time held by another.

He was addressed in a poetical piece entitled
'The Inner Temple,' by Beaumont,* the cele-

* Francis Beaumont was descended from an ancient family of his name settled at Grace-Dieu in Leicestershire, where he was born about the year 1585. His grandfather, John, was Master of the Rolls; and his father, Francis, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in the reign of Elizabeth. His elder brother, Sir John Beaumont, after having followed for a short time the profession of the law, retired from it early in life, upon his marriage with a lady of considerable fortune: he then became no inconsiderable versifier, as appears from some lines in praise of his poems by Ben Jonson.

The dramatist was educated at Cambridge, and removed thence to the Inner Temple; but his poetic genius prevailing, he quitted his legal studies, and to the plays written jointly by him and Fletcher (fifty-three in number) it is supposed that he stood indebted for his subsistence during a life probably spent in gayety and dissipation, and terminated before he had fully completed his thirtieth year. He left one daughter, Frances Beaumont, who died in Leicestershire in 1700. This lady had in her possession several poems composed by her father; but they were lost at sea in her voyage from Ireland, where she had lived for some time in the Duke of Ormond's family. Beside the plays above-mentioned, he wrote a little dramatic piece, entitled, 'A Masque of Gray's Inn Gentlemen;' 'Verses to his friend master John Fletcher, upon his Faithful Shepherdess;' and other poems printed together in 1653, in 8vo. He was esteemed so good a judge of dramatic compositions, that even the haughty Jonson submitted his writings to his correction, and it is thought was much indebted to him for the contrivance of his plots. What an affection indeed Jonson had for him, may be inferred from the following verses:

'How do I love thee, Beaumont, and thy muse,
That unto me dost such religion use!
How do I fear myself, that am not worth
The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth.
At once thou makest me happy and unmakest;
And giving largely to me more thou takest.

brated poetical colleague of Fletcher.* From Dr.

What fate is mine, and so itself bereaves !

What art is thine, that so thy friend deceives !

When even there, where most thou praisest me,

For writing better I must envy thee.'

Another copy of verses was inscribed to his memory by Bishop Corbet.

* John Fletcher sprung from ancestors as respectable in the church, as those of his poetical friend Beaumont were in the law. He was the son of Dr. Richard Fletcher, who after being successively Dean of Peterborough, and Bishop of Bristol, and Worcester, was translated to the see of London in 1594. The memory of this Prelate is preserved in history on account of three remarkable circumstances: first, as the father of the dramatist; secondly, as having incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth by marrying, when in the decline of life, a second wife young and handsome, for which he was suspended; and thirdly, for his very sudden death, which being generally imputed to his immoderate use of tobacco, brought that herb, then little known, into great disrepute. His son John was born in Northamptonshire in 1576, and received his education at Cambridge, where he commenced his friendly intercourse with Beaumont. It is imagined that he was of Bene't College, because his father had been a considerable benefactor to that society, not only in his life-time, but by legacies in his will. Beside writing plays in conjunction with Beaumont, it is said that he assisted Jonson in a comedy called 'The Widow;' he likewise lent his aid to Massinger, as did also Middleton, Rowley, Field, and Decker. Fletcher died of the plague in London in 1625, and was interred in the church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark: his friend Massinger died suddenly fourteen years afterward, and was buried, according to Sir Aston Cockaine, in the same grave.

It is not correctly known, what parts were produced distinctively by each in the joint compositions of Beaumont and Fletcher. The prevailing opinion however is, that Beaumont's judgement was usually employed in retrenching the exuberances of Fletcher's wit and humour, as well as in forming the plots and suggesting the most material incidents of

Corbet,* then senior student of Christ Church, he gladly accepted an invitation to Oxford; and having

their dramas. Yet, if Winstanley may be credited, his associate must occasionally have had a share in the business, as well as the language of those pieces: for from him we learn, that these confederate writers meeting once at a tavern in order to sketch the plan of a tragedy, Fletcher undertook to kill the king; which proposition being overheard by a waiter, an information was officiously lodged against them for high-treason. As it appeared however, upon their examination before the magistrate, that they only meant their dramatic king, they were discharged, and the matter ended in mirth. Of Fletcher, Philips in his '*Theatrum Poetarum*' observes, "that he was one of the happy triumvirate of the chief dramatic poets of our nation in the last foregoing age, among whom there might be said to be a symmetry of perfection, while each excelled in his peculiar way: Ben Jonson, in his elaborate pains and knowledge of authors; Shakspeare, in his pure vein of wit and natural poetic height; and Fletcher in a courtly elegance and genteel familiarity of stile, and withal a wit and invention so overflowing, that the luxuriant branches thereof were frequently thought convenient to be lopped off by his almost inseparable companion Francis Beaumont."

Dryden, in his Essay on Dramatic Poetry, remarks that 'Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in his time, were the most pleasing and frequent entertainments; two of theirs being acted through the year, for one of Shakspeare's or Jonson's: and this on account of certain gayety in their comedies, and a pathos in their most serious plays, which suited generally with all men's humours.' It must not be denied, however, that though sanctioned by many illustrious names, those plays are liable to numerous objections. Rymer has criticised them in a tract entitled, '*The Tragedies of the last Age considered and examined by the Practice of the Ancients, and by the Common Sense of all Ages*;' in which the curious inquirer will find their faults pointed out with more truth than good humour.

* His first interview with Bishop Corbet, then a young man, occurred (we are told) at a tavern. Jonson desired the waiter to take to the gentleman a quart of raw wine; and "tell him," he added, "I sacrifice my service to him." "Friend," replied

passed some time in that delightful seat of the Muses, received an additional attestation of his merit from the University assembled in full convocation, in an honorary degree of M. A. presented to him in 1619. On the death of Daniel, in the October following, Jonson succeeded to the office of Laureat,* the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him for a considerable period.

Before the end of the year he paid a visit, on foot, to his favourite brother-poet, Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland. With this ingenious writer, who does not however appear to have returned his esteem,† he passed some months, and opened his heart to him with the most unreserved confidence. His adventures upon this journey he celebrated in a particular poem; which, with several others of his productions,‡ being accidentally burnt two or three

Corbet, "I thank him for his love; but tell him from me, that he is mistaken, for sacrifices are always burnt." This pleasant allusion to the mulled wine of the time won the affection of the Master-Wit.

Another story, recorded by Oldys on the credit of Oldisworth, is as follows: Jonson had been recommended by Camden to Sir Walter Raleigh, as tutor to his son. The young man, not brooking his preceptor's severer studies, took advantage of his foible to degrade him in the eyes of his father (who, it seems, was remarkable for his abstinence from wine) and while he was in a heavy sleep from the effects of intoxication, maliciously despatched him in a buck-basket to Sir Walter, with a message that 'he had sent home his tutor.'

* So says Wood; but Malone has very clearly proved that neither Daniel, nor his reported predecessor Spenser, enjoyed the office so known by that name.

† See his character of Jonson, at the end of this Memoir.

‡ Among the rest, a History of Henry V., of which Jonson with the assistance of Sir George Carew, Sir Robert Cotton,

years afterward, drew from him his verses called, ‘An Execration upon Vulcan.’ He seems, indeed, never to have let a twelvemonth pass, without the amusement of writing some of these smaller pieces. And those with the masques, which his office as Laureat periodically elicited at Christmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625; when his comedy, entitled, ‘The Staple of News,’ made it’s appearance. Not long afterward, he fell into an ill state of health, which however did not obstruct the discharge of his duty at court. He found time, likewise, to gratify the more agreeable exercise of play-writing; for, in 1629, he brought out his ‘New Inn, or the Light Heart.’ But, here, his adversaries prevailed: the comedy, “most negligently played, and more squeamishly beheld and censured,” was hissed off the boards on it’s first exhibition; upon which Jonson, in an ‘Ode to Himself,’* threatened to leave the stage, as he did shortly afterward. This step having reduced his finances, his royal master graciously sent him a purse of a hundred pounds; in return for which, he addressed the following

EPIGRAM TO KING CHARLES FOR A HUNDRED POUNDS HE
SENT ME IN MY SICKNESS, 1629.

‘Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace
Annexed to thy person and thy place,

and Selden, had completed eight out of the nine years. (Oldys’ *MS. Notes to Langbaine in Brit. Mus.*)

* This Ode drew from Owen Feltham, author of the ‘Resolves,’ another in reply written in the same measure with great satiric acerbity. By Suckling, also, he was heavily censured. To console him for this severe reprimand, Randolph, his adopted poetical son, displayed all the warmth of ingenuous and grateful affection.

'Tis not enough (thy piety is such)
 To cure the call'd King's Evil with a touch;
 But thou wilt yet a kinglier mastery try,
 To cure the Poet's Evil, poverty:
 And in these cures dost so thyself enlarge,
 As thou dost cure our evil at thy charge.
 Nay, and in this thou show'st to value more
 One poet, than of other folks ten score.
 O piety! so to weigh the poor's estates;
 O bounty! so to difference the rates.
 What can the poet wish his King may do,
 But that he cure the People's Evil too?'

But the munificence of the Sovereign did not stop here: in 1630, the Laureat's salary of a hundred marks was augmented to a hundred pounds *per ann.*, with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine out of his Majesty's cellar of Whitehall, which has been continued (in kind, or in value) to his successors ever since. Though with this, however, he enjoyed also a pension from the city, and received occasional assistance likewise from his friends, his Want, coupled with his intemperance, was radical and incurable; and some of his latest productions were mendicant poems addressed to different patrons.* The powers of his body

* In the postscript of a letter (preserved in the British Museum) addressed to the Earl of Newcastle, and dated 1631, he appears to allude to this city-pension: "Yesterday the barbarous Court of Aldermen have withdrawn their chandlerly pension for verjuice and mustard, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" The whole composition shows so much of his temper and spirit at this time, as Mr. Chalmers observes, that a longer transcript may be excused: "I myself, being no substance, am fain to trouble you with shadows, or what is less, an apologue or fable in a dream. I, being stricken with the palsy in 1628, had by Sir Thomas Badger, some few months since, a fox sent me for a present; which creature, by handling, I endeavoured to make tame, as well for the abating of my disease, as the delight I took in speculation of his nature. It happened this present year 1631, and this very week being

and his mind began now to sink into a visible decay. We have two comedies, indeed ('The Magnetical Lady,' and 'The Tale of a Tub') written by him sub-

the week ushering Christmas, and this Tuesday morning in a dream (and morning-dreams are truest) to have one of my servants come to my bedside, and tell me, 'Master, master, the fox speaks!' Whereat methought I started, and trembled, and went down into the yard to witness the wonder. There I found my Reynard in his tenement, the tub I had hired for him, cynically expressing his own lot to be condemned to the house of a poet, where nothing was to be seen but the bare walls, and not any thing heard but the noise of a saw dividing billets all the week long, more to keep the family in exercise, than to comfort any person there with fire, save the paralytic master; and went on in this way, as the fox seemed the better fabler of the two. I, his master, began to give him good words, and stroke him; but Reynard, barking, told me 'this would not do, I must give him meat.' I, angry, called him 'stinking vermin.' He replied, 'Look into your cellar, which is your larder too, you will find a worse vermin there.' When presently, calling for a light, methought I went down, and found all the floor turned up, as if a colony of moles had been there, or an army of salt-petre vermin. Whereupon I sent presently into Turtle Street for the King's most excellent mole-catcher, to release me, and hunt them; but he, when he came and viewed the place, and had well marked the earth turned up, took a handful, smelt to it, and said, 'Master, it is not in my power to destroy this vermin; the K., or some good man of a noble nature, must help you: this kind of mole is called 'a Want,' which will destroy you and your family, if you prevent not the working of it in time. And, therefore, God keep you, and send you health!'

"The interpretation both of the fable and dream is, that I, waking, do find Want the worst and most working vermin in a house; and therefore, my noble Lord, and next the King my best patron, I am necessitated to tell it you. I am not so imprudent to borrow any sum of your Lordship, for I have no faculty to pay; but my needs are such and so urging, as I do beg what your bounty can give me, in the name of good letters, and the bond of an ever-grateful and acknowledging servant to your honour."

sequently :* but they are such, as have not been unfittedly called 'his dotage,' and exposed him to the malevolence of criticism, which seldom spares even old age. Upon the appearance of the former, Alexander Gill, Master of St. Paul's School, attacked him with such fury, as drew from Jonson a short but extremely caustic reply. He wholly laid aside his pen soon afterward. His last production was, the New Year's Ode for 1635.

His disorder was the palsy, which put a period to his life August 16, 1637, in the sixty third year of his age. He was interred in Westminster Abbey, at the north-west end, near the belfry. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-stone, with the laconic inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson!" This was done at the expense † of Mr. (afterward Sir) John Young, of Great Milton in Oxfordshire. But a much better monument was raised to his memory six months afterward by Dr. Duppa (Bishop of Winchester, and tutor to Charles Prince of Wales) ‡ in a collection of

* Of two other unfinished pieces, 'the Sad Shepherd,' and 'the Fall of Mortimer,' the latter has only the plan and two scenes (written, however, with classical spirit and simplicity) extant; and the former terminates in the third act. He had joined with Fletcher and Middleton, also, in writing a comedy, called 'the Widow;' and had assisted Dr. Hacket, afterward Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in translating into Latin the Essays of Lord Bacon.

† That expense, says Bathurst, for cutting was eighteen pence! By the wits of the day, who considered him as at the head of English poetry, he was generally addressed under the reverential title of 'Father Ben.'

‡ This prelate, it is said, when M. A., had been acquainted with Jonson, and often visited him in his last illness; at which time the penitent poet expressed great sorrow for having profaned the Scriptures in his plays. He had, undoubtedly (adds

elegies and poems entitled, ‘*Jonsonius Virbius*; or, the Memory of Ben Jonson revived by the Friends of the Muses.’* A design was, likewise, conceived to erect a marble monument with his statue, and a considerable sum of money was collected for that purpose; but the breaking out of the civil war prevented its execution, and the subscriptions were returned. The bust in bas-relief with the above inscription under it, which is now fixed to the wall in the Poet’s Corner, near the south-east entrance into the Abbey, was set up by the second Harley Earl of Oxford.

In himself his family became extinct; for he survived the whole of his seven children, in none of whom was he happy. His eldest son, a poet and a dramatist, died in 1635. Of his wife, nothing is known. With respect to his person and character, if we may depend upon his own description, his body was corpulent and bulky, and his countenance hard.† Of

Whalley) a sense, and was under the influence of religion; and it may be observed in his favour, that his offences against piety and good manners are very few. By the rudeness, indeed, and indelicacy of that age grosser language was permitted, than the chaste ears of more polished times will bear.

* To this collection most of his contemporaries, distinguished by their genius, contributed; among others, Lords Falkland and Buckhurst, Sirs John Beaumont and Thomas Hawkins, Waller, Mayne, Cartwright, King, May, Cleveland, Feltham, &c.

† In Decker’s angry ‘*Satiro-Mastrix*’ he is represented as having “a most ungodly face; it looks for all the world like a rotten-russet-apple, when ’tis bruised;” and again, it is said to be “punched full of cylet-holes, like the cover of a warming-pan.” To Dr. Warton’s remark, ‘that most of our poets were handsome men,’ Jonson appears to have been a signal exception—though his bust is said to resemble that of Alexander.

the cast of his temper and natural disposition, his host Drummond says, that he was "a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; choosing rather to 'lose his friend, than his jest;' jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which was one of the elements in which he lived;* a dissembler of the parts which reigned in him, a bragger of some good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, but what either himself or some of his friends had said or done. † He was passionately kind and angry; care

* Hard drinking, as D'Israeli observes, had been imported, previously to this time, by our military men on their return from the Continent, reduced into a kind of science, and furnished with an appropriated dialect. Jonson's inclinations were but too well adapted to the prevalent taste; and to his twenty four '*Leges Convivales*,' drawn up in Latin and engraved in marble over the chimney of his club-room, the Apollo, in the Old Devil Tavern (near Temple Bar) may not improbably be ascribed that

Mountain belly and that rocky face,

of which he himself complains, as having alienated from him the affections of his mistress: one of his 'sons,' as he calls them (R. Bacon) affirms, that each line of his 'Catiline' oft "cost him a cup of sack." "He would many times," says Aubrey, "exceed in drink: Canary was his beloved liquor. Then he would tumble home to bed; and, when he had thoroughly perspired, then to study." "One was friendly telling Benjamin Jonson, of his great and excessive drinking continually: "Here's a grievous clutter and talk (quoth Benjamin) concerning my *drinking*; but here's not a word of that *thirst*, which so miserably torments me day and night." T. S. *Fragments Aulica*, 12mo. 1662.)

† Howel, in one of his Letters, delineates what the late Mr. Seward considered as the leading feature of Jonson's character:

"I was invited yesterday to a solemn supper by B. J., where you were deeply remembered. There was good company, excellent cheer, choice wines, and jovial welcome. One thing

less either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well answered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for either religion, being versed in both: oppressed with fancy, which over-mastered his reason; a general disease among the poets. In short (adds his Scottish *friend*) he was, in his personal character, the very reverse of Shakspeare; as surly, ill-natured, cross, and disagreeable, as Shakspeare with ten times his merit was gentle, good-natured, easy, and amiable." In his studies, he was laborious and indefatigable; his reading was copious, his judgement accurate, and his memory so tenacious, that (as he himself informs us, in his 'Discoveries') in his youth he could have repeated entire books; and, even when turned of forty, he remembered the whole of his own compositions!

In his friendships, he was cautious and sincere, yet accused of levity and ingratitude; but his accusers were the criminals. With men of virtue and learning he was connected by the ties of intimacy and affection. The Learned, the Judicious, the Great, the Immortal Ben were his frequent distinctions. By Randolph and Cartwright he was revered, as the reformer and the father of the British stage: Shakspeare* had cherished his infant muse: Beau-

intervened, which almost spoiled the relish of the rest, that B. began to engross all the discourse; to vapour extremely of himself, and by vilifying others to magnify his own muse. T. Ca. buzzed me in the ear, that though Ben had barrelled up a great deal of knowledge, yet it seems he had not read the ethics, which amongst other precepts of morality forbid self-commendation, declaring it to be an ill-favoured solecism in good-manners."

* None even of his envious, or hostile, contemporaries charge

mont and Fletcher esteemed him: Donne had recommended his merit; and Camden and Selden* knew how to prize his various literature.

“His parts,” says Fuller, “were not so ready to run of themselves, as able to answer the spur; so that it may be truly said of him, that ‘he had an elaborate wit, wrought out by his own industry.’ He would sit silent in learned company, and suck in (beside wine) their several humours into his observations. What was ore in others, he was able to refine himself. He was paramount in the dramatic part of poetry, and taught the stage an exact conformity to the laws of comedians. His comedies were above the Volge (which are only tickled with downright obscenity) and took not so well at the

him with having depreciated the merits of this his illustrious and ‘beloved’ friend. Dryden, it is true, with Malone and some of the other editors of Shakspeare, thinks his testimony to the Genius of the British drama invidious and sparing: but to Pope it appears an ample and honourable panegyric. Jonson affirms, indeed, of Shakspeare’s writings, that “neither man nor muse could praise them too much!” calls him

—— “Soul of the age!

Th’ applause, delight, and wonder of our stage!”

and pits him confidently against

‘All that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time,’ &c. &c.

Surely this is enough, even for Shakspeare, and leaves no room for Malone’s charge of malignity! Mr. Gilchrist has, likewise, recently vindicated Jonson from the imputation with considerable acuteness.

This great man has acknowledged the good offices, which Jonson rendered him through his interest at court, when he had incurred the royal displeasure by publishing his ‘History of Tithes.’

first stroke, as at the rebound, when beheld the second time: yea, they will endure reading, and that with due commendation, so long as either ingenuity or learning are fashionable in our nation. If his later be not so sprightly and vigorous as his first pieces, all that are old will, and all that desire to be old should, excuse him therein. Many were the wit-combats between him and Shakspeare, which two I beheld like a Spanish great galleon and an English man of war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning; solid, but slow in his performances: Shakspeare, with the English man of war, lesser in bulk but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds by the quickness of his wit and invention."

"His name," says Lord Clarendon, "can never be forgotten; having by his very good learning, and his very good nature and manners, very much reformed the stage, and indeed the English poetry itself. His natural advantages were, judgement to govern the fancy, rather than excess of fancy; his productions being slow and upon deliberation, yet then abounding with great wit and fancy, and will live accordingly. And surely as he did exceedingly exalt the English language in eloquence, propriety, and masculine expressions, so he was the judge and fittest to prescribe rules to poetry and poets, or any man who had lived either before him or since: if Mr. Cowley had not made a flight beyond all men, with that modesty yet as to ascribe much of this example and learning to Ben Jonson. His conversation was very good, and with men of most note; and he had for many years an extraordinary kindness for Mr. Hyde (Lord C. himself) till he found he

took himself to business, which he believed ought never to be preferred before his company."

Dr. Johnson, in his celebrated Prologue, has strongly marked his character, as contrasted with the boundless and commanding genius of Shakspeare :

'Then Jonson came, instructed from the school
To please by method and invent by rule!
His studious patience, and laborious art,
With regular approach essay'd the heart:
Cold approbation gave the lingering bays;
For they, who durst not censure, scarce could praise.'

With respect to his talents for the theatre, Dryden, in his 'Essay on Dramatic Poetry,' pronounces him "the most learned and judicious writer which any theatre ever had;" and gives a particular examination of his 'Silent Woman,' as a model of perfection. His excellence, however, was chiefly confined to the preservation of the Unities, and the skilful management of the plot. In almost every thing, which makes comedy pleasant, he was defective. "You seldom," observes the great critic last mentioned, "find him making love in any of his scenes, or endeavouring to move the passions: his genius was too sullen and saturnine, to do it gracefully." And even his peculiar humour he drew rather from conceptions of ridiculous character formed in his own fancy, than from the observation of nature. Neither the names nor the language of real life, especially as they exist in the upper ranks of society, are ordinarily to be found in his representations; and the incidents are, in general, vulgar. It is, therefore, no just cause of wonder, that his plays have gradually been superseded. Of fifty which he wrote, not more than three

preserve his name: but those are excellent. Court-masques and pageantry, unfortunately, dissipated the talents which had produced 'Volpone,' 'The Alchemist,' and 'The Silent Woman.' His two tragedies, 'Sejanus' and 'Catiline' (both formed on the wretched model of Seneca, and both unsuccessful) are full of long declamatory speeches, in many instances closely translated from the ancient historians and orators. To this may be added Pope's remark, that, "When Jonson got possession of the stage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from those frequent lessons (and, indeed, almost declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the *Græx*, *Chorus*, &c. to remove the prejudices and reform the judgement of his hearers. Till then, the English authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the ancients: their tragedies were only histories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history."

Jonson seems, indeed, to have had no nice ear for poetry; though Drummond declares, that 'his inventions were smooth and easy.' He does not appear to have had much conception of those breaks and rests, or of adapting the sound of his verse to the sense, which constitute eminent beauties in our best modern poets. It is universally agreed, that translation* or imitation* was his most distin-

* He appears, says D'Israeli, to have been the inventor of what his critical namesake, in his 'Life of Pope,' calls "a kind of middle composition between translation and original design;" the adaptation of ancient satire to modern facts and

guished talent, wherein he excelled all his contemporaries; and that, beside new-forming our drama after the ancient models, he gave us the first English Pindaric which has any just claim to that title. But, as a general poet, he is often harsh, frigid, and tedious: perpetually in pursuit of some uncommon thought, which he wants taste and genius to render striking or agreeable; though his strains are not without many occasional flashes of imagination, and felicities of expression. His learning pervades, and to a certain degree stiffens, almost every thing he wrote. What he borrows from the ancients, however, he generally improves. He borrows, indeed, with the air of a conqueror, and wears his adscititious garb as a trophy rather than as a loan. His translation of the 'Art of Poetry' is so close, as to be comprehended in the same number of lines with the original. His occasional poems, chiefly encomiastic or satirical, abound in masculine sense and poignant wit, with an unfortunate intermixture at the same time of puerile conceit and coarse raillery. "His nature," says Dr. Hurd, "was severe and rigid; and this, in giving strength and manliness, gave at times too an intemperance to his satire. His taste for ridicule was strong, but indelicate, which made him not over-curious in the choice of his topics; and lastly, his stile in picturing characters, though masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of so bold a colouring. Thus, the bias of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence for his

characters; though Dr. Johnson himself recollected no instance prior to Oldham and Rochester.

model, it is not to be wondered at, that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive." He has been regarded as the first, who has done much for the 'Grammar of the English Language.' This and his 'Discoveries,' both written in his advanced years, discover an attachment to the interests of literature, and a habit of reflexion, which place his character as a scholar in a very favourable point of view.

His Hymn to Diana, in 'Cynthia's Revels,' is remarkably elegant and melodious.

' Queen and huntress chaste and fair,
Now the sun is laid to sleep,
Seated in thy silver car
State in wonted manner keep.
Hesperus entreats thy light,
Goddess excellently bright.

Earth, let not thy envious shade
Dare itself to interpose:
Cynthia's shining orb was made
Heaven to cheer, when day did close.
Bless us then with wished sight,
Goddess excellently bright.

Lay thy bow of pearl apart,
And thy crystal shining quiver;
Give unto the flying hart
Space to breathe, how short soever:
Thou that makest a day of night,
Goddess excellently bright.'

The following pièces deserve, also, to be here transcribed.

Song, in his ' Silent Woman.'

' Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As you were going to a feast;

Still to be powder'd, still perfum'd—
 Lady, it is to be presumed,
 Though art's hid causes are not found,
 All is not sweet, all is not sound.

Give me a look, give me a face,
 That makes simplicity a grace;
 Robes loosely flowing, hair as free—
 Such sweet neglect more taketh me,
 Than all th' adulteries of art:
 They strike mine eyes, but not my heart.'

His Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke, sister
 to Sir Philip Sidney, has been justly celebrated for
 its spirit, conciseness, and ingenuity:

Underneath this marble hearse
 Lies the subject of all verse;
 Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother—
 Death, ere thou hast slain another,
 Learn'd and fair and good as she,
 Time shall throw his dart at thee.'

It is perhaps surpassed, however, by four lines
 from his Epitaph on Elizabeth L. H.:

* * * * *
 ' Underneath this stone doth lie
 As much beauty as could die;
 Which in life did harbour give
 To more virtue than doth live.'

In 1640, the volume of his plays and poems,
 which had been published in his life-time, was re-
 printed; with the addition of a second folio, con-
 taining the rest of his Plays, Masques, Underwoods,
 a Translation of Horace's 'Art of Poetry,' English
 Grammar, and Discoveries. They re-appeared in
 1716, in six volumes, octavo: and another edition in
 seven was published in 1756, with notes and addi-

tions by the Rev. Peter Whalley, of St. John's College, Oxford; who likewise inserted, for the first time, his comedy entitled, 'The Case is Altered.'

There is reason to believe, that he had a design to write an epic poem, in couplets (as he detested all other rhyme) under the name 'Heroologia,* or the Worthies of the Country.' It is said, indeed, that he actually drew up a Discourse on Poetry, both against Campion and Daniel, especially the latter, in which he proved couplets to be the best sort of verses.

From these accounts (observes Chalmers) it may surely be inferred, that Jonson in his life-time occupied a high station in the literary world. So many memorials of character, and so many eulogiums on talents, have not fallen to the lot of many writers of that age. His failings, however, appear to have been so conspicuous, as to obscure his virtues. Addicted to intemperance, with the unequal temper which habitual intemperance creates, and disappointed in the hopes of wealth and independence, which his high opinion of his talents led him to form; degenerating even to the resources of a libeller, who extorts from fear what is denied to genius, he became arrogant, and careless of pleasing even those with whom he associated. Of the coarseness of his manners there can be no doubt; but it appears, at the same time, that his talents were such, as made his temper be tolerated for the sake of his conversation. As to his high opinion of himself, he did not probably differ from his contemporaries, who hailed

* Two works, at least, already exist under this title, and both, somewhat scarce: Robert Hull's *Heroologia Anglorum*, or an Helpe to English History, 12mo.; and 1 thin folio by Ho. v. a. d., containing numerous heads with short Latin Memoirs appended.

him 'the reformer of the stage, and the most learned of critics;' and it is no great diminution of his merit, that an age of more refinement cannot find enough to justify the superior light, in which he was contemplated. It is sufficient, that he did what had not been done before; that he displayed a judgement, to which the stage had been a stranger, and furnished it with examples of regular comedy which have not been surpassed.



END OF VOL. II.

